

**TOILETRY CASE SETS ACROSS LIFE AND DEATH
IN EARLY CHINA (5th c. BCE-3rd c. CE)**

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University of Pittsburgh, 2009

This dissertation is an exploration of the cultural biography of toiletry case sets in early China. It traces the multiple significances that toiletry items accrued as they moved from contexts of everyday life to those of ritualized death, and focuses on the Late Warring States Period (5th c. BCE) through the Han Dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE), when they first appeared in burials. Toiletry case sets are painted or inlaid lacquered boxes that were filled with a variety of tools for beautification, including combs, mirrors, cosmetic substances, tweezers, hairpins and a selection of personal items. Often overlooked as ordinary, non-ritual items placed in burials to comfort the deceased, these sets have received little scholarly attention beyond what they reveal about innovations in lacquer technologies. This dissertation presents a contextualized and nuanced understanding of toiletry case sets as enmeshed within rituals, both mundane and sacred. Chapter Two begins with their uses in life as items essential to fulfilling fluctuating social ideals of beauty and, as sets found in association with both females *and* males, tools through which gender identity was enacted rather than simply reflected. Chapters Three and Four focus on the layers of meaning that toiletries accrued when placed on display during the funerary rituals, arranged within organized tomb layouts, or kept aboveground for use in post-burial contexts. These chapters employ approaches to the material culture of death developed by Howard Williams, ideas that are themselves based on the classic sociological model for studying death rituals established by Robert Hertz. Such theories provide a framework for understanding how toiletry items may have affected the corpse, the soul, and the mourners differently. As items

used in daily rituals of grooming and adornment, these sets became entangled within the biographies of individuals, ensured the order and beauty of the body into death, and may have acted as potent objects of memory throughout rituals surrounding death. This open inquiry of the toiletry case set demonstrates the potential for objects in early China to be understood as active within social, political and ritual contexts, and contributes to a growing discourse about the multiple meanings of objects.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

明帝性孝愛, 追慕無已. 十七年正月, 當謁原陵, 夜夢先帝、太后如平生歡. 既寤, 悲不能寐, 即案曆, 明旦日吉, 遂率百官及故客上陵. 其日, 降甘露於陵樹, 帝令百官採取以薦. 會畢, 帝從席前伏禦床, 視太后鏡奩中物, 感動悲涕, 令易脂澤裝具. 左右皆泣, 莫能仰視焉.

Emperor Ming's nature was filial love, and he longed for [his deceased parents] endlessly. It was the first month of the seventeenth year of his reign [74 CE], and therefore customary that he visit the tomb mound [of his parents]. The night before, he dreamt of [them,] the former emperor and empress, and their happiness when alive. When he awoke, he was grieved to the extent that he could no longer sleep. He checked the calendar, [noticed that] the next dawn marked an auspicious day, and was therefore satisfied to lead officials and important guests to visit the tomb mounds. At that time of day, sweet dew was falling [from heaven] onto the tomb mound's trees and the emperor decreed that his guests collect it and offer it to his parents. [When they] assembled [after] the conclusion [of these rituals, at the mausoleum], the emperor, [seated on the] mat, fell forward onto the [spirit] bed. He looked at the objects inside the empress's toiletry case and was moved to tears. He ordered the cosmetic substances inside to be changed. Those all around wept, and could not bear to watch.¹

-*Hou Hanshu* 後漢書,
Compiled by Fan Ye, ca. 5th century CE

In this historical passage, the *jing lian* 鏡奩, or toiletry case, and its contents trigger in Emperor Ming 明 (r. 56-76) a flood of grief over his deceased mother. Though more lavishly ornamented as would have been appropriate to an empress, her toiletry case may have contained items like those found in a case belonging to Lady Dai from Western Han tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui

¹*Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, by Fan Ye 范曄 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), 10a.407 ("Huang Hou Ji 皇后紀"). My translation; all translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

(Hunan), one of the best-preserved examples excavated thus far [C:26a].^{2*} Her large, rounded lacquered case was found containing a variety of tools for beautification and adornment, including combs and brushes, various boxes filled with white powders and rouge, powder puffs, and hair extensions, as well as other personal items, including embroidered silk mittens. As Emperor Ming looked into the case, its contents would have collectively evoked an image of his late mother. While visiting the tomb mound and making sacrificial offerings at the mausoleum were in accordance with his filial and imperial duties, it was only by looking through the empress's toiletry items that Emperor Ming was able to truly confront the memory of his mother again, and unleash his most sincere feelings of loss.

This dissertation is an exploration of the symbolic and material capacities of toiletry items across the domains of life and death in early China. Most scholarship on these items concerns their use in life as tools for beautification, a purely functionalist view that while informative, offers only a singular perspective of their significance rooted in a particular temporal context. In the passage above, Emperor Ming's poignant fixation on his mother's toiletry items reveals that these objects could also be meaningful beyond their basic uses in practices of beautification. In the hands of a bereaved son years after the burial of his mother, they became provocative in their very materiality as objects of memory. Indeed, as containers for collections of personal articles that were used in daily routines of grooming and adornment, tools that particularly highlight the face and define features such as eyes, skin, and hair, toiletry case sets by their very nature come to embody individuals. These items were used by the

² See Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓, 2 Vols (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1973), Vol. I, 88-89.

* All images from this dissertation have been omitted upon final submission to the University of Pittsburgh. Information about each toiletry case discussed in this study, however, is listed in Appendices A-D (see section entitled, "Sources" in this chapter and the introduction to the appendices for further explanation), entries of which are referenced in the body of the dissertation—e.g., the bracketed "C:26a" refers to Appendix C, entry number 26a. For images, including maps, please contact Sheri A. Lullo (sheriannlullo@yahoo.com).

empress in life and were constitutive of her private world. Later, in the more public context of her death, they were activated as a powerful and tangible link between the living and the dead. In this study, I am interested in expanding the parameters of how we view toiletry items from early China by opening up inquiry to how these objects can change or accumulate meaning throughout the multiple phases of their social lives.

The extended significance of toiletry case sets into contexts of death is most crucial when we consider that all of the excavated examples we have for study today have come from burials. They first appeared in high and middle-ranking elite tombs of the Warring States 戰國 period (450-221 BCE) of the late Zhou 周 dynasty as part of dramatic changes taking place in the structure and content of the mortuary realm. In particular, items taken directly from the elite material world, often categorized as *shenghuo yongqi* 生活用器, or objects from daily life, gradually subsumed a program once dominated by bronze ritual vessels. These material transitions, together with changes in tomb structure and imagery signal developing ideologies of an afterlife in which the soul of the deceased was to endure in the midst of all of his or her earthly comforts. Such ideas were refined as desires for immortality into the Han 漢 Dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE). During this period, toiletry cases became more developed in form and content, and observably widespread among burials within the Han political sphere.

The formal development of toiletry case sets and their increasing popularity in burials were therefore enmeshed within historical processes of social and religious transformation. It is thus within and across these shifting contexts—from life to death and throughout time—that toiletry sets must be examined and considered. Indeed, as I argue throughout this dissertation, there is nothing static about toiletry case sets or the contexts in which they were used or

experienced. It is only by delving into these multiple perspectives that the potential for toiletries to mean on different levels can be illuminated.

1.1 ‘UNPACKING’ TOILETRY CASES

I use the term “toiletory case” or “toiletory case set” in this study to refer to rounded or square boxes that contain a variety of tools for beautification, and in some instances, personal items as well. In many examples, the contents of these cases are distributed among a series of smaller boxes nestled inside.³ As will be described in Chapter Two, toiletory cases are most commonly found as painted polychrome (usually red and black) lacquerwares with wooden or fabric cores, though bamboo, metal and pottery examples have also been unearthed. Because the materials at their cores are organic, they seldom survive intact, and are therefore identified in form through fragments of preserved lacquer skin or metallic ornamentation, and in function through the items found packed in between. Among these contents, bronze mirrors and wooden combs are the most frequently uncovered, though some sets—especially those unearthed from contexts where conditions for preservation have proven favorable—include a larger variety of items, including cosmetic substances, hairpins, bronze brush handles, small knives, eyeliner sticks, powder puffs, and hair extensions.

The written record includes multiple, similarly composed characters that refer to the toiletory case. The first comprehensive dictionary in China, Xu Shen’s 許慎 (30-124 CE)

³ For descriptions of *lian* toiletory cases and related items, see Sun Ji 孫機, *Handai wuzhi ziliao tushuo* 漢代物質資料圖說 (Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe, 1990; Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2008), 299-303, figs. 66-10, 66-21, 66-22 (citations are in the Shanghai Guji edition); and Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫, ed., *Kandai no bunbutsu* 漢代の文物 (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyujo, 1976), 88-89, figs., 2-148, 2-153.

Shuowen Jiezi 說文解字 (completed in 121 CE), defines the character, *lian* 簾, as “a *lian* [for enclosing] a mirror 鏡簾也.”⁴ The radical component on top (*zhu* 竹) is a pictograph of a bamboo plant, and may indicate that such boxes were often created from rolled or woven bamboo, examples of which have been found in Warring States period Chu tombs (see Chapter Two).

A variant of this character, *lian* 奩, which was used in other writings of the Han dynasty and in modern archaeological reports, incorporates within its ideographic structure the components for a “box” 匚 (*fang*) enclosing “items” 品 (*pin*). As such, the inbuilt meaning of this character did not point specifically to these vessels as containers for toiletries. Indeed, in addition to the toiletry case of Lady Dai mentioned above, another *lian* from her tomb contained what may have been rice cakes and was accordingly designated in the accompanying burial inventory on bamboo as a “food *lian* 食檢 (奩).”⁵ Moreover, a passage from the *Shuoyuan* 說苑, a collection of moral anecdotes compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 in the 1st century BCE, includes a description of offerings arranged before a local ancestral temple as “one *lian* for food, one *hu* vessel for wine, and three carp (一奩飯, 一壺酒, 三鮒魚).”⁶ Perhaps for this reason, in texts from the Han and later, including the *Hou Hanshu* as quoted above, the *lian* as toiletry case is qualified as a *jing lian* 鏡奩, or “mirror *lian*.”⁷ The same designation is found in texts created

⁴ Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注, *Sibucongkan* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1922), vol. 57, 5a2a (“Zhu Bu 竹部”).

⁵ Slip no. 212 of the inventory on bamboo found in this tomb lists this *lian* as containing non-glutenous rice (稻食). See Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1973, Vol. I, 88, fig. 83; Vol. II, plate 188.

⁶ *Shuo Yuan* 說苑, comp. Liu Xiang 劉向 (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1922), vol. 3, 24a.

⁷ This is also the case for the *Lienüzhuan* 列女傳, or *Biographies of Exemplary Women* (compiled by Liu Xiang, 1st c. CE), in which the *jing lian* appears in “The Two Righteous Ones of Chu-Yai,” from the “Biographies of the Chaste and Righteous” as a case for toiletries used in travel. See *Lienüzhuan* 列女傳, comp. Liu Xiang 劉向 (Taipei:

for burial, including an inventory of grave goods recorded on wooden boards from tomb no. 1 at Dafentou (Hubei).⁸

Considering the linguistic information presented above and the fact that many *lian* were found empty upon excavation, in my study I only rely on examples of *lian* toiletry cases that have been clearly identified as such through items found inside. The examples that I discuss throughout this dissertation are clearly listed in Appendices A through D where information on their archaeological context and contents is detailed.

1.2 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

A good portion of studies that consider the toiletry case have focused only on its form without considering the multiple items inside that ultimately determine its function. These cases have been unearthed along with a growing number of other types of lacquer vessels over the last few decades that has allowed for a closer examination of the medium itself.⁹ Because toiletry cases bear many of the characteristics of interest to the scholar of lacquer, including advanced levels of

Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 5.10a (“Jieyi 節義”). For the English translation, see Richard Albert O’Hara, *The Position of Women in Early China: According to the Lieh Nu Chuan “The Biographies of Eminent Chinese Women,”* (Phd diss., The Catholic University of America, 1945) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 147-51.

⁸ The Dafentou tomb no. 1 inventory includes the entry, “one mirror *lian* 竟檢一 (鏡奩一).” See Hubei Sheng Bowuguan, eds., “Yunmeng Dafentou yi hao Han mu 運夢大墳頭一號漢墓,” *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* 1981.4, 19.

⁹ Anthony Barbieri-Low, “The Organization of Imperial Workshops during the Han Dynasty.” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2001); Lothar Ledderhose, *Ten Thousand Things: module and mass production in Chinese art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Alain Thote, “Lacquer Craftsmanship in the Qin and Chu Kingdoms: Two Contrasting Traditions (Late 4th to Late 3rd Century BCE),” *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 5, Numbers 1-4 (2003), 347.

figure painting, impressive metal inlays, and workshop inscriptions, they are commonly featured in these studies.¹⁰

For his recent book, *Zhan'guo Qin Han Qiqi qun yanjiu* 戰國秦漢漆器群研究 (Research on Lacquers of the Warring States, Qin and Han), Chen Zhenyu 陳振裕 compiled a comprehensive listing of all tombs discovered with lacquerwares that date from the middle Warring States period and through the Han, and organized them into tables according to tomb size.¹¹ Chen's study provides a convenient format that illustrates that the *lian* form has been found mostly among large and middle-sized tombs, but also in some smaller-scale burials as well. Incidentally, as these recent studies of lacquerwares and their technology indicate, it is safe to assume that the lacquer-producing industry of Warring States through Han period China yielded far more wares than have been unearthed, allowing for the strong possibility that toiletry cases were much more numerous and widespread than my study indicates. Moreover, because the conditions for preservation of organic materials have proven more favorable in the south, the distribution of toiletry cases as conveyed through published findings (see the Appendices for listings) may also reflect the predispositions of archaeological investigation.

Several short articles have brought the *lian* form to the fore, including Chen Chunsheng's 陳春生 regional analysis of style and other innovations in lacquer technology for cases dating to the Western Han period.¹² Dong Tiantan 董天壇 similarly combined formal analysis with

¹⁰ See for example, Hong Shi 洪石, *Zhanguo Qin Han qiqi yanjiu* 戰國秦漢漆器研究 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2006); and Chen Zhenyu 陳振裕, *Zhanguo Qin Han qiqi qun yanjiu* 戰國秦漢漆器群研究 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2007).

¹¹ Chen 2007.

¹² Chen Chunsheng 陳春生, "Xi Han qi lian gaishu 西漢漆奩概述," *Nanfang Wenwu* (2001.1), 94-106.

discussion of craftsmanship to position toiletry cases within the cultural aesthetics and technological innovations of early China.¹³

In studies where complete toiletry sets (i.e. vessels and items together) are considered, such as an article by Lin Qiaoling 林巧玲 entitled, “Female Beautification of the Han Period as seen through the Double-Leveled, Nine-Box Toiletry Case from Mawangdui Tomb No. 1,” questions have focused on what these items can tell us about beautification practices and Han period trends with exclusive reference to women.¹⁴ The same is implied when toiletry items are discussed in larger encyclopedic studies of Han dynasty material culture, such as those of Sun Ji 孫機 and Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫¹⁵, and even in more focused reference works on adornment, the most notable of which has been written by Gao Chunming 高春明.¹⁶ This bias has become particularly intriguing with the relatively recent publication of Tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui, the occupant of which has been identified as Lady Dai’s son.¹⁷ Interestingly, toiletry case sets have been found among his burial items, and many of the contents are identical to those in the cases of his mother, including cosmetic substances and hair extensions. Zhang Xiaoya 張曉姪 has recently acknowledged this similarity in a short article, though he only provides a laconic conjecture that men and women practiced similar beautification regimens.¹⁸ In fact, the earliest toiletry cases unearthed have been found in tombs of males, and therefore were not gendered in ways that most

¹³ Dong Tiantan 董天壇, “Zhongguo gudai lian zhuang yanbian chutan 中國古代奩妝演變初探,” *Xibei Di Er Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao* (2005.1), 74-79

¹⁴ Lin Qiaoling 林巧玲, “Cong Mawangdui yi hao mu zhi shuang ceng jiu-zi qi lian dao Han dai funu shuzhuang 從馬王堆一號墓之雙層九子漆奩到漢代婦女梳妝” *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art* 18.10 (2000-01), 32-39.

¹⁵ See note 3.

¹⁶ Gao Chunming 高春明, *Zhongguo fushi ming wu kao* 中國服飾名物考 (Shanghai: Shanghai Wenhua Chubanshe, 2001).

¹⁷ See Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Hunan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆二, 三號漢墓 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2004).

¹⁸ See Zhang Xiaoya 張曉姪, “Mawangdui Han mu chutu shuzhuang qianlun 馬王堆漢墓出土梳妝用具淺論,” *Sichuan Wenwu* (2008.4), 48-53.

have assumed or implied. It is my view that this phenomenon is an important one, and should be discussed in light of the growing corpus of toiletry cases discovered from sexed tombs and with reference to the available textual record. Thus, in Chapter Two of this dissertation, I make a preliminary attempt at a gendered analysis of toiletry case sets.

In addition, while current scholarship has contributed to our visual understanding of toiletry cases and provided the foundations for a study of the significances of practices of beautification in life, consideration of the burial contexts in which these sets have been found is conspicuously absent. By virtue of their inclusion in burials, toiletry case sets were incorporated into a new, ritual context where they at once became part of and instrumental to ideologies of death. Moreover, by not questioning their role in burial, these studies also do not acknowledge, for instance, the placement of these items. My data shows that the position of toiletry case sets changes from outside the inner coffin along with other burial goods to inside the inner coffin in intimate proximity to the corpse. This latter positioning is first evident in burials of the Qin dynasty and continues to appear in those throughout the Han. In many instances, this move would seem to be deliberate, and is therefore a topic that will be addressed in this study. What follows here is not only an account of these cases and their position in burials of the period from the late Zhou and into the Han, but also my attempts to interpret their symbolic functions throughout.

1.3 APPROACHES AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The fields of anthropology and archaeology have over the last few decades recognized that investigations of objects are inseparable from investigations of people.¹⁹ Once considered as passive visual evidence for identifying peoples or cultures and their positions in time and space, material culture is now seen as playing an active and central role in the construction of and mediation between groups or individuals. In other words, objects exist and are imbued with meaning by the people who create, commission, use, exchange, and view them. Conversely, people are characterized and constituted by their material worlds. It is now acknowledged as axiomatic that “we make objects and they in turn make us.”²⁰

A study of toiletry case sets in early China then, must reach beyond the functionalist approach of existing scholarship to one that takes a closer look at how these sets were meaningful to the different people who possessed, used, and experienced them. As such, this dissertation follows the cultural biography of toiletry case sets, from their use and significances in life, to their deployment in death, which was in itself composed of multiple contexts both above and belowground.²¹

My overall approach to understanding toiletry case sets in burials draws largely upon the work of Howard Williams, and particularly his recent book, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*.²² In this book, Williams begins with the premise that graves are the “intentional outcome of mortuary rituals,” spaces constructed by the living that are revealing of

¹⁹Christopher Tilley, “Introduction,” in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuchler, Michael Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer, 1-6 (London: Sage, 2006), 2.

²⁰Lynn Meskell, *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material biographies past and present* (London: Berg, 2004), 4.

²¹For a brief review of approaches to the biography of objects, see Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, “The Cultural Biography of Objects,” *World Archaeology*, Vol. 31.2 (Oct. 1999), 169-178.

²²Howard Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

culturally and temporally-specific eschatologies.²³ In other words, he proposes that a productive way of approaching the material remains of burials is by considering their significance to the rituals surrounding death. According to Williams, these rituals provide a context for the re-articulation of social identity and the commemoration of deceased individuals and, in the process, the creation of social memory. Thus, Williams' approach investigates burials beyond their capacity as a cluster of symbols that predominantly reflect the social identity of deceased individuals by considering more closely the context at hand and its effects on the many social actors involved.²⁴

Williams' analysis of mortuary rituals follows Metcalf and Huntington's reconsideration of Robert Hertz's classic study for understanding social responses to death, an approach that has since the 1970s been recognized as a valuable framework for cross-cultural comparison.²⁵ Hertz, in his essay of 1907 entitled, "A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death," portrayed death as a transition rather than an abrupt and biological reality.²⁶ Focusing on the contemporary Dayak peoples of Indonesia, he described how these transitions were enacted through specific mortuary rituals that by design initiated and realized the safe transformation of the deceased from lifeless body to eternal ancestor. His analysis was structured according to the three actors involved—the corpse, the soul, and the living—each of whom was transformed through the rituals. Metcalf and Huntington later articulated the interconnectedness of the participants: the living prepare the corpse for death and in so doing,

²³ Ibid., 5.

²⁴ For a comprehensive summary of approaches to burial objects—termed "direct interpretation," or one that sees material culture almost solely for its relationship to the social status of the deceased, and "ritual" approaches, which consider the way objects were deployed in ritual—and a framework for combining these approaches, see Rowan Flad, "Ritual or Structure? Analysis of Burial Elaboration at Dadianzi, Inner Mongolia," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 3, Numbers 3-4 (2001), 23-51.

²⁵ Peter Metcalf and Richard Huntington, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1979] 2008).

²⁶ Robert Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand* (London: Cohen and West, [1960] 2009).

enable its transformation into ancestor; the changing appearance of the body reflexively affects the living and their perception of the deceased; as the deceased progresses from the world of the living to that of the dead, the living reposition themselves socially in the absence of the departed.²⁷ In effect, both the dead and the living undergo rites of passage in the face of death.

From the perspective of archeological inquiry, Williams has recognized the centrality of material culture to these ritual enactments as explained by Hertz. In particular, he views the material dimensions of the rites as a crucial, visual means by which life to death transitions were made real, individualized, and rendered memorable. As such, Williams regards the deployment of portable artifacts, treatment of the corpse, organization of the grave, erection of monuments, and the choice of landscape and location of the grave as different but interconnected strategies for effecting transitions and articulating identities. Material culture served therefore as a “context, a medium, and a message by which ...memories could be produced and reproduced within individual funerary sequences and between funerals.”²⁸ Particularly useful for the aims of this dissertation is the way that Williams’ approach opens up analysis of the material culture of death to the multiple meanings that objects can accumulate in burial contexts, from their utility and symbolism in the circumstances of transition, to the ways they related to the corpse, the soul, and the living.

²⁷ Metcalf and Huntington [1979] 2008. For a schematic diagram of this framework, see Metcalf and Huntington [1979] 2008, 83, fig. 3.

²⁸ Williams 2006, 20. In this approach to material culture, Williams is also building upon the work of Andrew Jones, and specifically his notion of “technologies of remembrance.” According to Jones, funerals can be approached as series of acts, or techniques, that link together to create chains of events that were either repeated from funeral to funeral or altered based on social, political, economic or religious factors. Material culture can be seen as central to these chains of events as embodiments of the processes of remembering or forgetting. He explains: “So the constructional sequence of monuments or the chain of activities related to the production and use of artefacts will allow memories to be evoked in certain specific ways. In this regard we might think of a chaîne opératoire (operational sequence) in which remembrance unfolds in certain trajectories, depending upon the sequence of production and use of material culture.” See Andrew Jones, “Technologies of Remembrance,” in *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies*, ed. Howard Williams (New York: Kluwer/Plenum, 2003), 69.

In his book, Williams outlines a constellation of ways in which items of material culture have been considered across historical time and space, several of which are relevant to the study of toiletry items. To begin, Williams proposes that we move beyond the narrow interpretation of objects as simply reflective of social identity, and instead consider how such notions were implicated in larger ideologies. Many archaeological and art historical studies of early China conclude with interpretations of burial objects as direct expressions or assertions of an individual's social or political rank. To be sure, the ordering of burial goods by number and type, and the preoccupation of ritual texts with material expressions of rank leave little room to doubt these interpretations. Nevertheless, as Williams points out, social order often directly paralleled larger cosmological schemes or mythologies, which in turn determined the selection, deployment, and placement of objects in burials.²⁹ In fact, in a recent study, Jessica Rawson has called for the integrated investigation of the material culture of death in early China with contemporary cosmologies, stressing a dialogue between image and idea in the development and revision of larger world views.³⁰ Approaching toiletry case sets from this perspective compels us to consider their specific relationship to the body and face and how management and beautification of the body figured in constructions of social and political, but also cosmological order; and likewise how the placement of toiletry case sets in burial programs, along with their structure, content, and decoration played into such schemes.

In addition to these broad concepts, which serve to embed single objects within the larger burial assemblage, structure, and ritual performance, it is equally important to return to toiletry items in their distinctive capacity to reference, index, and embody the body and face. While

²⁹ Williams 2006, 9-10.

³⁰ Jessica Rawson, "Cosmological Systems as Sources of Art, Ornament and Design," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 72 (2000), 133-89.

toiletry items do not have obvious religious or mythological significance—traits which are often signaled out for study—they may have been meaningful in terms of their more mundane associations as items used in daily life.³¹ Indeed, toiletry items were used in routines of bodily management and beautification, and therefore would have been visually associated with specific parts of the body or face, symbolic capacities that may have played a role in ritual transitions in death or figured as meaningful in constructed afterworlds. The latter notion has been explored for the context of Warring States period China by Lai Guolong, who has suggested that personal items, including clothing, jewelry, and some toiletries, were used in afterlife contexts as substitutes for deceased individuals, who offered them to deities along the perilous journey of the afterlife (see Chapter Four).³² These ways of thinking about toiletry items give more weight to their potential as active within the funerary rituals and conceptions of the afterlife—which were themselves dynamic—thereby avoiding the perception of burial layouts as static tableaux.

Moreover, the biographies of toiletry case sets themselves become entangled with the biographies of those who used them, thus forging a powerful, mnemonic link to individuals. In this sense, we can imagine individuals as rematerialized in death through these tangible remnants of their private lives. It follows then, that toiletry items would have also carried emotive force within contexts of death, as is duly illustrated in the response of Emperor Ming to his mother's toiletry items quoted above. Indeed, in her reexamination of nineteenth-century British burials, Sarah Tarlow has recently reminded us that funerary events were not simply orchestrated for the display of social status and transition of the deceased to the ancestral realm, but also as culturally specific ways of coping with the death of an individual, an important perspective of analysis that

³¹ Williams 2006, 41.

³² Lai Guolong, "Death and the Otherworldly Journey in Early China as Seen through Tomb Texts, Travel Paraphernalia, and Road Rituals," *Asia Major*, Third Series, Vol. XVIII, Pt. 1 (2005), 1-44.

is often overlooked in our investigations of objects from burial.³³ According to Williams, “if we consider the multi-sensuous elements of mortuary practices and their role in connecting the living with the dead, then an understanding of the social context of bereavement becomes an important element for understanding death and material culture in the past.”³⁴ Emotion is a generative force in the creation of memories, and I explore this theme as it pertains to toiletry cases sets in contexts of death throughout Chapters Three and Four.

Thus, toiletry case sets may have been implicated in creating or maintaining a range of social memories, from the reinstatement of larger schemes by which the early Chinese approached and ordered their cosmological, political and social worlds, to the endurance of individual identity and personal biography. Moreover, these layers of meaning that accumulate and become pronounced across time and space are not random in conception or occurrence, but connected through the crucial mechanism of embodied practice. Paul Connerton has articulated the ways in which bodies re-enact and create memories through different forms of social practice, which are not limited to rituals in a religious sense, but can extend to the routines of everyday life.³⁵ Two facets of memory creation as described by Connerton can be seen as involving the engagement of people and things. What he terms *inscribing practices* includes the ways in which information or memories can be stored in a material objects; his notion of *incorporating practices* consists of repeated bodily movements or actions—which may involve items of material culture—that contribute to the sustenance of memories. As this study will demonstrate,

³³ Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); see also her articles, “Emotion in Archaeology,” *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 41, No. 5 (Dec 2000), 713-46, and “The Aesthetic Corpse in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” in *Thinking Through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*, eds. Yannis Hamilakis, Mark Pluciennik, and Sarah Tarlow (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002), 85-97.

³⁴ Williams 2006, 12.

³⁵ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

toiletory case sets were involved in the creation, maintenance, and modification of memories with respect to each of these levels of social practice.

1.4 SOURCES

My primary sources for this dissertation have been the archaeological reports of the tombs from the Warring States period through the Han, for which I have provided a listing in Appendices A through D. Where a specific toiletory case is discussed in this dissertation, I have included in brackets a letter-and-number designation that refers to specific entries within these appendices. Thus, “[C:26a]” as it appeared on page one of this Introduction refers to a toiletory case entry listed in Appendix C, entry number 26a. These entries include information on the burial from which the toiletory case was discovered, a description of the toiletory case and its décor, content, and location within the tomb when available, and a bibliographic reference to the archaeological report as listed in the final bibliography.

Throughout my study, I often give more weight to those tombs for which full monographs have been published, such as Tomb Nos. 1 and 3 at Mawangdui (Hunan), Tomb No. 1 at Mashan (Hubei), and Tomb no. 2 at Baoshan (Hubei). The majority of my data, however, has been published only as brief reports in Chinese journals on Archaeology, the most notable of which are *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 (Journal of Archaeology), and *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics). While extremely useful, these reports are often by their very nature incomplete, especially in object descriptions. For instance, in a brief report on a Western Han tomb from Xingjing (Sichuan), the contents of a toiletory case are listed as, “a wooden *bi* 篋

comb, wooden *shu* 梳comb, bronze mirror, carbon (炭精) *zan* 簪hairpin, wooden hair ornament, etc.”³⁶ (italics mine) In this dissertation, I rely only on those items listed, and in the Appendices, I record “etc.” where such elisions have occurred. Moreover, the many blank spaces of the Appendices also reflect the absence of information on the position of toiletry cases within burial layouts. Again, my discussion therefore necessarily focuses on burials where complete information has been provided.

As far as the written record is concerned, I should note that the interpretive model that Williams has offered in his study deliberately avoids using textual sources in order to demonstrate the rich potential of material culture to offer new perspectives in the current interdisciplinary debate on social memory in early medieval Britain. My aims in this dissertation are different. Because toiletry cases have never been considered within mortuary settings, I am not, as is Williams, re-framing our view of these items in context, but instead proposing to begin a discourse. I therefore draw upon all possible evidence in order to position the study of toiletry items directly within current dialogues on early Chinese material culture. In my analysis of toiletry items in life and death, I combine close examination of the materials, mediums, and constituent items of the sets with a preliminary reading of the textual record for both its detailed description and nuance. These sources include the Han histories, the *Shiji* 史記, *Hanshu* 漢書, and *Hou Hanshu*, as well as early poetry, most notably the *Shijing* 詩經 and the *Chuci* 楚辭.

Since ritual is the primary lens through which I view objects in burial, I will also utilize the Confucian ritual texts, the *Yi li* 儀禮 and the *Li ji* 禮記. These texts, along with the *Zhou li* 周禮

³⁶ See Xinjing Gumu Fajue Xiaozu, “Sichuan Xinjing Guchengping Qin Han muzang 四川榮經古城坪秦漢墓葬,” *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* 1981.4, 71. In many other instances, lists of toiletry items are followed by “and other items 等物.” See Hunan Sheng Bowuguan, Hunan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Changsha Shi Bowuguan, Changsha Shi Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Changsha Chu mu*, 2 Vols. (Beijing, Wenwu Chubanshe, 2000), 358-63.

(Zhou Rites), are commonly considered as a single Canon of Rites, which was, moreover, part of a larger corpus of books on classical learning promoted by followers of Confucius (551-479 BCE), the subjects of which included the odes, historical documents, rites and music.³⁷ There is much debate and uncertainty about the dates of these works, but with particular regard to the *Yi li* and the *Li ji*, most agree that each was compiled during the Han period and included material from the Warring States period of the Zhou dynasty.³⁸ The *Yi li* outlines rules of etiquette for an ordinary officer (*shi* 士), which according to Michael Nylan were the “knights” of the Warring States period, and during the Han, men educated to work for the state.³⁹ Many of the tombs considered in this study fall within the parameters of this rank. The *Li ji*, on the other hand, includes procedures in parallel form for three ranks: an ordinary officer, great officer (*daifu* 大夫), and the ruler (*jun* 君). Overall, these texts are read strictly as idealized dictates, and are useful primarily for what they convey about intended strict patterning and ordering of burials based on social rank and their insight into the lives of the elite.

1.5 OVERVIEW

This study traces the cultural biography of the toiletry case set, and thus begins with a description of its uses in life and ends with its significances in death and its endurance in the memories of the living. My aims in this exploration are twofold. First, I will evaluate these sets

³⁷ For a detailed history and analysis of these Classics, see Michael Nylan, *The Five “Confucian” Classics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

³⁸ See Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, Early China Special Monograph Series No. 2 (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993). For a discussion of the *Li ji*, see pp. 293-97; for the *Yi li*, see pp. 234-43.

³⁹ Nylan 2001, 171.

from the perspective of gender by addressing the consistently overlooked fact that toiletry case sets were not exclusively associated with females in death. Second, I will explore the potential of toiletry items to accumulate meaning beyond their basic uses in practices of beautification as they were transferred from contexts of life to those of death, and from contexts of use to those in which they were primarily viewed. I argue throughout for a more nuanced view of toiletry items as they progressed throughout their social lives. With regard to their deployment in funerary rituals, following Robert Hertz and Howard Williams, my study will examine toiletry case sets and their relationship to the corpse, the soul, and the mourners. Each perspective involves a different framework from which to approach these items, involving different settings and audiences, and rendering certain functions, meanings, and associations more pronounced at the expense of others. These potentials are rooted in their repeated use within daily rituals of grooming and adornment, and the intimate associations with bodies and individuals that resulted.

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter Two traces the development of the form of the toiletry case and, in a description of the items inside, considers how they were used by the women and men who possessed them in life. Building on the insights of previous studies, which used primary textual sources to understand how individual contents figured in practices of beautification, and sociological theories of gender, I argue that rather than viewing toiletry case sets as gendered objects in themselves, we must consider instead the different or similar ways that they were used by women and men. In other words, toiletry items were not static markers of gender, but active in its construction and performance. Furthermore, in addition to notions of gender, the possession and use of toiletry case sets was involved in the construction of other facets of social identity, including class and age. I conclude with a consideration of how

practices of beautification and bodily management were bound up in ideologies of the body and order, and implicated in larger cosmological schemes.

Chapters Three and Four focus on contexts of death, including the funerary rituals, constructions of the afterlife within burials, and post-burial rites aboveground. Following Robert Hertz, these chapters are organized to examine toiletry case sets and their relationship to the corpse, the soul, and the mourners (the living). Chapter Three is dedicated to a detailed description of the funerary rites, with particular focus on how the corpse was prepared and metaphorically linked to the creation of a new ancestral identity in death. I explore how toiletry case sets may have been involved in these processes, depending on where they were positioned in burial layouts. As part of assemblages of goods placed in the outer encasements of tombs, toiletry case sets figured in the funerary displays that took place during the second phase of the rituals, which were focused on the display of accompanying grave goods as part of constructions of a new ancestral identity in death. When placed in the coffin, they were part of the first phase of the rites, which were dedicated to preparing the physical body and its coffining. In each scenario, toiletry case sets were linked to the corpse and the process of death transition in different ways, and would have therefore served different purposes for audiences of the living.

The first part of Chapter Four advances further in time to the underground context of the burial, where the items interred were intended to cater to the soul in constructed afterworlds. In these contexts, toiletry cases were at times incorporated into three-dimensional burial assemblages or pictorial renderings in tomb structures that served to create afterlife contexts for the souls of the deceased. Based in life, such scenarios offer further evidence for how toiletry items were involved in the construction of class and gender in both life and death. And finally, in the second part of the chapter, I consider how toiletry case sets figured in aboveground

situations after final interment. During the Han period, post-burial rites were expanded from offerings provided at the ancestral temple, where social identity was commemorated, to those at the gravesite itself, where the living continued to serve the deceased in ways parallel to the contexts established within the burial. Textual evidence indicates that toiletry items were part of these new gravesite offerings. In addition, these sets could also be experienced as objects of remembrance by mourners, whereby they became meaningful on a personal level as tangible remnants of deceased individuals.

Thus, this open inquiry necessarily combines perspectives of Art History with those of Archaeology and Anthropology in order to consider how form and style intersect with social and ritual context and the embodied practices that they involve. My aim is to demonstrate the potential of toiletry case sets as active within social, religious and political contexts, and consider their capacity to be meaningful on multiple levels depending upon use, audience, place and time.

2.0 AN INTRODUCTION TO TOILETRY CASES AND THEIR CONTENTS

The goal of this chapter is twofold: first, I will define and describe toiletry cases and their contents, and second, connect their function in life to ideals of appearance for women and men. This discussion will follow a chronological framework, simply to chronicle their history, but also to expose changes in their significance within mortuary contexts from the Shang through the Han dynasties. As most evidence comes from the later periods (4th c. BCE-2nd c. CE), and because textual evidence records, or at least reflects, their use then, most discussion focuses on the later part of the Zhou Dynasty, known as the Warring States period, and through the Han Dynasty.

2.1 EARLY TOILETRY SETS: SHANG AND WESTERN ZHOU

Before describing the emergence and development of toiletry cases and their contents in burials beginning in the Warring States period, two examples of what may be recognized as early toiletry cases will be introduced. Although incidental in use, brief discussion of these scarce examples in the early archaeological record serves to emphasize the abrupt and increasing significance of toiletry case sets in later contexts. The first example was found in a richly furnished royal burial from the late Shang 商 Dynasty capital at Anyang 安陽 (Henan), dating to

around 1200 BCE, and the second was placed some two hundred or so years later in a high-ranking burial of the Yu [弓魚]⁴⁰ State at Baoji 寶雞 (Shaanxi), which thrived during the early to middle Western Zhou period (ca. 1046-771 BCE).

While some items among the contents of these early boxes also appear in later toiletry cases, my objective in describing them is not to imply cultural continuity in burial practices. Indeed, more than six centuries lie between the toiletry case found in the burial of the Yu State and the later tradition that begins in the late Warring State period. In addition, and as will be detailed in the Chapter Three, ideologies of the afterlife as expressed by tomb structure and burial good type and style underwent dramatic changes during those six centuries, such that the contexts for interpreting these toiletry items are quite different. Specifically, in these early contexts, burials were equipped with objects that enabled the deceased to continue communication with and ritualistic reverence of his or her ancestors, whereas subsequent burial programs exhibit a shift in material focus to the deceased individuals themselves. And third, a significant degree of cultural diversity in the archaeological record has been demonstrated for these early periods. In fact, a “tradition” of placing toiletry cases in burials from the Warring States through the Han is only evident when observed in many regions against this background of continuous cultural or regional diversity.

Still, a preliminary analysis of early examples of toiletry items from burials demonstrates that such sets were known and employed in life centuries before the Warring States period. Why toiletry case sets suddenly become widespread in burials of the Warring States through the Han periods will be the subject of the remaining chapters of this dissertation. In addition,

⁴⁰ Brackets are used here to indicate that these two characters are to be combined into one, read *yu*. The combination of these two components is not in the conventional Chinese character database.

examination of the formal qualities of these early examples and their placement in burial, along with consideration of the ritual events surrounding their deposition will provide a useful point of reference when thinking about similar items in later contexts.

2.1.1 Shang: The Lacquered Wooden Box of the Royal Consort, Fu Hao

Within the earthen fill of the burial shaft of the tomb of Fu Hao 婦好, third wife of the Shang King Wu Ding 武丁, were found the remains of a lacquered wooden box filled with bone hairpins and three ivory goblets.⁴¹ Scattered lacquer fragments suggest that the box was rectangular, measuring about 60 cm long by 41 cm wide and roughly 25 cm tall. In addition, a grouping of more than eighty items was found near these lacquer remains, including more bone hairpins and a spatula; a jade *pan* 盤 vessel, *bi* 璧 disc, axe and blade; bronze arrowheads, knives, blades and three mirrors; several stone vessels; a large cowry shell; and a quantity of small stone, bone, shell and gemstone ornaments. As many scholars have suggested, these items were likely the personal possessions of Fu Hao.⁴²

Among these items, the bone hairpins total an impressive 499 in number. Though some are plain, others are surmounted by dragons, birds' heads, or geometric forms, and measure as much as 22 cm in length. Hairpins are also found in male burials at Anyang, but studies of their

⁴¹ For the report to this tomb, see Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Yinxu Fu Hao mu* 殷墟婦好墓 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, Xinhua shudian, 1980). Because this tomb filled with water during excavations (as noted on page 7 of the report), the reliability of the report's description of object placement throughout has been called into question. My analysis therefore focuses on the toiletry items themselves, and places less emphasis on context.

⁴² See, for example, Jeffrey Yu-teh Kao, "The Archaeology of Ancient Chinese Jades: A Case Study from the Late Shang Period Site of Yinxu" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1985), 202; and Kathryn M. Linduff, "Art and Identity: The Chinese and Their 'Significant Others' in the Shang," in *Cultural Contact, History and Ethnicity in Inner Asia*, eds. Michael Gervers and Wayne Schlepp (Toronto: Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia, Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 1996), 12-48.

distribution and quantity have focused on their importance in distinguishing status and rank specifically among female burials.⁴³ In addition, while plain bone hairpins are a common item in Neolithic⁴⁴ and Shang burials, in this royal context, elaborate ornamentation, as well as augmented size and number are qualities that imbued them with significance above and beyond the utilitarian.

Other bone toiletry items were also found in the tomb fill.⁴⁵ These include a bone comb, along with bone spatulas, spoons and knives, all elaborately incised with official Shang design motifs, including a two-eyed mask and birds composed of a series of hooks and curls. This design scheme is prominent on many other items in royal and upper class tombs, most notably bronze ritual vessels. Many of these bone toiletry items contain small perforations, which would have enabled them to be carried or worn about the body. The use and display of such items would have formed one important visual marker among many that expressed Fu Hao's allegiance and membership among the Shang elite.

⁴³ For a typological study of these hairpins that also concludes that their style and form reflected rank and status, see Li Ji 李濟, "Ji xing ba lei ji qu wen shi zhi yanbian 筓形八類及其文飾之演變," *Guoli Zhongyang Yanjiu yuan Lishi Yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*, no. 30, pt.1 (1959), 1-69. See also Wang Ying, "Rank and Gender in Bone Art at the Late Shang Center at Anyang," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2000); and Kathryn M. Linduff, "Women's Lives Memorialized in Burial in Ancient China at Anyang," in *In Pursuit of Gender: Worldwide Archaeological Approaches*, ed. Sarah Nelson and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 257-288. Such hairpins are more commonly found near the heads of deceased females, and in some cases, are arranged as elaborate headdresses. Examples include the burial of a princess or relative of the royal family, in which two jade hairpins were found at her head, while twenty-five more in bone were displayed in a fan-shape just outside of her coffin. As many as 130 bone hairpins were found in a similar fan shape at the head of another female whose burial was located in close proximity to that of a king. Additionally, at the center of her crown of hairpins were the remains of a turquoise ornament. See *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Yuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Anyang Gongzuo Dui*, "Anyang Xiaotun cun be de liang zuo Yin dai mu 安陽小屯村北的兩座殷代墓," *Kaogu Xuebao* 1981.4: 491-518, 391; see also Wang Ying 2000, 58-59; Linduff 2002, 268-69.

⁴⁴ A rare find of a finely carved openwork jade hairpin has been assigned to the Neolithic Longshan culture (ca. 4th-2nd millennium BCE). For image, see Zhang Deqin 張德勤, ed., *Zhongguo Wenwu Jinghua* 中國文物精華 (Gems of China's Cultural Relics) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), 298, pl. 60.

⁴⁵ Again, water likely caused items to shift position within the tomb. Because they are relatively light, these bone items may have floated into the tomb fill.

It has only recently been proven that Fu Hao was not, in fact, a blood member of the Shang royal clan,⁴⁶ though scholars have long suspected her outsider origins as evidenced by the location of her tomb (separated from the royal burial precinct) and select burial items that are distinctly different in type and style from Shang official schemes.⁴⁷ Among these items, three bronze mirrors found in the grouping near her lacquered box are among the earliest mirrors found within modern Chinese political borders.⁴⁸ They range from 7.1 to 12.5 cm in diameter, contain a central boss through which a cord might be threaded, and are ornamented with striated designs that radiate out from the center. The only precursors to these mirrors are examples of copper that have been discovered in burials dating to the Late Neolithic Qijia culture (2000-1600 BCE) of the northwestern regions (Qinghai and Gansu).⁴⁹ The uses or meanings for mirrors at this early date cannot be ascertained, and analyses have shown that their significance varied across different contexts as they spread throughout Eurasia over the next millennium.⁵⁰ One well-known Qijia mirror attests to their value as items of display: two holes along the border were probably added after the loop of the central boss had broken so that the piece could continue to be suspended from the neck or belt.⁵¹ Fu Hao herself may have acquired her mirror

⁴⁶ Personal communication with Professor Katheryn M. Linduff.

⁴⁷ See Cao Dingyun, "'Fu Hao' nai 'Zi Fang' zhi nü," in *Qingzhu Su Bingqi kao wushi nian lunwenji* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1989), 381-85; and Linduff 1996.

⁴⁸ Other non-Shang items found within this grouping include bow-shaped objects with terminals in the form of horse heads and jingles, and bronze awls for working leather. For a discussion of these and other frontier-style items, see Linduff 1996.

⁴⁹ An Zhimin, "On Early Copper and Bronze Objects in Ancient China," in *The Beginnings of Metallurgy in China*, eds. Katheryn M. Linduff, Han Rubin, and Sun Shuyun (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), 29-46 (first published in *Kaogu* 1993.12: 1110-1119).

⁵⁰ Karen Robinson, "Through the Looking Glass: Reflections on Mirrors, Gender, and Use among Nomads," in Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002, 7-72.

⁵¹ For a brief discussion of this mirror, see An Zhimin, "Some Problems Concerning Early Chinese Copper and Bronze Artifacts," in *The Beginnings of Metallurgy in China*, eds. Katheryn M. Linduff, Han Rubin, and Sun Shuyun (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), 63-86 (first published in *Kaogu Xuebao* 1981.3: 269-285). This mirror is also discussed in Diana M. O'Donoghue, "Reflection and Reception: The Origins of the Mirror in Bronze Age China," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 62(1990), 5-183; and Caroline Schulten,

collection during military campaigns to the west in which she participated, as is recorded in Shang divination records. As an outsider, she may have also brought them from her natal regions as heirlooms. As adornments, these mirrors, along with the bone items introduced above, would have reflected her multi-layered social, political, and ethnic affiliations.

Interestingly, another set of toiletry items in jade that nearly replicate many of those of bone were also found in this tomb, perhaps closer to the body of Fu Hao. These items include two combs, two small ear spoons, a spatula, and a pigment-mixing tray (*se pan* 色盤). In addition, Fu Hao was adorned in death with twenty-eight jade hairpins that bore designs similar to her hairpins of bone (these hairpins were as long as 20 cm, with some up to 1 cm thick). Moreover, another bronze mirror, similar to those found near the lacquered box, may have also been associated with these items.

According to the report, these jade toiletry items show signs of use. For example, when unearthed the pigment-mixing tray still contained a quantity of cinnabar, which may have been a cosmetic, but according to Yao Zhiyuan 姚智遠 and Xu Chanfei 徐嬋菲, was more commonly employed to expel evil influences in death.⁵² This notion is evidenced through its location in other early burials: it was often spread on elite corpses and used to coat ritual objects; it has been found in, underneath, or on top of the coffins; it was also spread over the four corners of inner coffins and outer encasements. It is therefore likely that Fu Hao's jade toiletry items were directly connected to funerary rituals⁵³, and perhaps reserved only for ceremonies or rituals of

"Ancient Chinese Mirrors and their Legacies in the Tang (AD 618-906), Liao (AD 907-1125) and Song (AD 960-1279) Periods (Ph.D. diss., Merton College, University of Oxford, 2000).

⁵² Yao Zhiyuan 姚智遠 and Xu Chanfei 徐嬋菲, "Xian Qin liang Han huajiao de yongtu ji wenhua yi yi 先秦兩漢花椒的用途及文化的意義," *Nongye Kaogu* (2008.1), 168-176.

⁵³ Moreover, Jeffery Yu-the Kao has also pointed out that the many of the 426 jade ornaments in Fu Hao's inner coffin were found in an unfinished state. Some even appear to have been only roughly carved. One explanation for this is that they were made specifically (and quickly) for adornment of the corpse in death. See Kao 1985, 203-04.

the highest importance, while those of bone – still considered luxury items based on formal properties – would have been used for other occasions.

In sum, consideration of the size, appearance, type and placement of toiletry items in burial can be revealing of multiple meanings. While it is likely that Fu Hao's items were used for beautification, their formal qualities indicate a more pronounced function as items of adornment. As objects displayed about the body, in material, ornament and type, these toiletry items were potent symbols of social, political and ethnic membership. In addition, it is possible that material was indicative of different uses and significances in life and/or as part of burial ceremonies. Those of jade found perhaps on or near her body may have been linked to Fu Hao's posthumous identity, while those enclosed within a box and separated from the body may have represented her identity in life. Li Boqian has suggested that by virtue of being placed in a box, items in early burials were divested of any ritual or religious significance.⁵⁴ In this light, the toiletry items and other personal objects in Fu Hao's box may have acted as extensions of her earthly identity. Placed within the fill, these items may have acted as a final reminder of her personal identity in life, one which, in the context of Shang religious ideology, would have receded from memory in favor of a posthumous social identity within the hierarchical lineage of the Shang ancestors.

⁵⁴ Li Boqian, "Jades from Tomb 63 at the Jin Cemetery at Tianma-Qucun," in *Exploring China's Past: New Discoveries and Studies in Archaeology and Art*, tr. and ed. Roderick Whitfield and Wang Tao (London: Saffron, 1999), 182-88.

2.1.2 Western Zhou: Toiletry Sets among the Yu State Burials

In another instance, a rounded box containing toiletry items was found in tomb no. 20 of the Zhuyuangou 竹園沟 cemetery at Baoji (Shaanxi).⁵⁵ The cemetery dates to the Early to Middle Western Zhou period, and has been assigned to the Yu state based on bronze vessel inscriptions. The Zhou rulers, after overpowering the previous Shang polity ca. 1045 BCE, fused together a network of vassal states whose allegiance was sustained through kinship or matrimonial ties. The Yu state, though not mentioned in Zhou records as a vassal, was situated about eighty kilometers west of the Zhou royal domain, located near modern day Xi'an (Shanxi). The Yu burial contexts suggest that in some ways, their practices and tastes were in line with the Zhou, while in others, they exhibit customs independent from the Zhou.⁵⁶

Among the twenty-two graves and three chariot pits found in the Zhuyuangou cemetery, the occupant of tomb no. 20 was the only one among whose burial goods there was a toiletry case. The tomb is a rectangular, vertical pit grave that, like the Fu Hao tomb, once had an outer and inner coffin structure (*guan-guo* 棺槨). Based on a comparative analysis of tombs in the cemetery, Yu Jiang believes the deceased male occupant to have been a high ranking member of the Yu elite, perhaps subordinate only to the Yu rulers (interred in tomb nos. 4, 7, and 13).⁵⁷

⁵⁵Lu Liancheng 盧連成 and Hu Zhisheng 胡智生, *Baoji Yuguo mudi* 寶雞[弓魚]國墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988).

⁵⁶ Yu Jiang, in his dissertation, "Statecraft and Cemetery in Early Dynastic China: Yu funerary arts in the Zhou," questions the political affiliations of the Yu state with the centralized Zhou royal house. Through analysis of funerary ritual and grave goods, he found specific patterns (ex., the presence of pointed-bottom ceramic and bronze pots, and tall-footed *gui* vessels) in the Yu rituals that did not match the Zhou or other neighboring states, and concluded that the Yu identified themselves as culturally distinct from the Zhou. This dissertation is part of a wider range of scholarship begun in the 1980s that questioned the "core-periphery" approach to the history of cultural relations in China. See Jiang, Yu, "Statecraft and cemetery in early dynastic China: Yu funerary arts in the Zhou," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2004), 11.

⁵⁷ Jiang 2004: 134.

The toiletry case (referred to as *he* 盒, or box, in the tomb report) was placed between the outer and inner coffin and in the space in line with the head of the deceased. It is rounded in form, with a body of bronze and a cover and bottom made of wood.⁵⁸ Though the wooden parts of this toiletry case were decayed at the time of excavation, the bronze body remained, measuring 23 cm in diameter and 10.9 cm tall. Two thick bands of surface ornamentation featuring dragons and birds run along the top and bottom of the body. If there was originally a cover for this vessel, it did not survive. The body, however, is similar in both form and dimension to the toiletry cases that would appear more than half millennium later, beginning in the Warring States period and continuing through the Han dynasty.

In situ, this bronze toiletry case still enclosed its original contents, which comprised a bronze adze, chisel, small knife, a set of *ji* 笄 hairpins, small spoon, shallow *pan* plate, and two combs, as well as a small pottery *guan* 罐 with pointed bottom. Interestingly, similar groupings of these objects are observable throughout the Zhuyuangou cemetery, however all lack the remains of an enclosing vessel. Of the twenty-two burials in this cemetery, thirteen contain these “sets,” placed either near the head or the feet of the deceased.⁵⁹ They can be found in both single and double burials, and are consistent across male and female, as well as high and lower-ranking burials. For example, those in the tombs identified as the Yu lineage heads are comparable to sets in burials that are much less opulently furnished, such as tomb no. 6, which lacked any kind of bronze ritual vessels.

⁵⁸ Evidence must have been present upon excavation that this vessel indeed once included a cover. The report simply states that the wooden body and cover had already deteriorated. See Lu and Hu 1988: 192.

⁵⁹ See Lu and Hu 1988, 43-269. Burials that contain these sets include tomb nos. 1, 3-4, 6-8, 11-14, 18-19, and 21. Six tombs were damaged and therefore may have also included these sets. In addition, in some of these burials, bronze *gui* and *ding* vessels can be found near these sets. Moreover, these bronze *gui* or *ding* are not associated with the ritual sets laid out elsewhere in the burial program.

Considering the technology available for bronze casting at this time as demonstrated by the ornate bronze assemblages, the small bronze items among these sets do not exhibit the finest of craftsmanship. Nor, like the toiletry items discussed from Fu Hao's burial, are they large in size or ornate. The combs range from 3-5 cm long and are without decoration; some are rectangular in form, while others have handles in the shape of an upturned crescent moon. Still others have semi-circular handles, the form that would become the norm for later, wooden combs. Like earlier combs, they are surmounted by a small loop through which a cord may be laced. Hairpins among these sets are also rather plain. Many resemble the Chinese character, *gan* 干, and some have triangular projections. The pottery *guan* vessels in these groups are small when compared to vessels of the same designation in other parts of these burials. They measure 5-7 cm in height, and are often found near small bronze spoons, which may indicate that they were associated with cosmetics. As will be shown, tiny wooden spoons have been found in some of the smaller cosmetic boxes of toiletry cases from later periods. Adzes—ranging from 5-10 cm long—knives, and chisels may have served a host of functions, including cleaning underneath the nails, or spreading cosmetics. Uses for the small bronze *pan* plates, along with other small bronze dipping spoons (*qubing douxing qi* 曲柄斗形器), which are found in many of these sets, are difficult to determine.

Neither the burials at Zhifangtou nor those at Rujiazhuang, two other mortuary sites of the Yu State, display the patterns in toiletry item groupings that are observable across the Zhuyuangou cemetery. Moreover, burials from two other well-published cemeteries that follow Baoji chronologically – that of the Jin state at Tianma-Qucun (Shanxi, early Western Zhou to

early Eastern Zhou),⁶⁰ and of the Guo State at Shangcunling (Henan, Eastern Zhou period)⁶¹ – do not contain such toiletry sets. Ornate combs continue to appear in these burials – particularly in those of high rank – but are not consistently associated with other small tools as they are at Zhuyuangou. Indeed, through his case study of the Yu State bronzes and mortuary traditions, Yu Jiang has illustrated the highly diverse atmosphere of the Western Zhou period, during which geographic proximity to the ruling house or between states alone did not determine complete cultural or ritual allegiance.

The recognizable toiletry items of these sets, most notably the combs and hairpins, unlike those in the Shang dynasty burial of Fu Hao, are presented as more utilitarian in nature than decorative. In addition, across the Yu cemetery at Zhuyuangou, such sets were neither gender specific nor status-based. Within the spatial layout of these burials, these sets were placed apart from ritual vessels. According to Hayashi Minao, bronze vessels for this period were intended to be used by deceased individuals in death for continued sacrifice to ancestors.⁶² Within this context, were these toiletry sets to be used in specific bodily preparations for such rituals? The particularities of these groupings at the Zhuyuangou cemetery certainly warrant further research, as does the fact that only one such set was placed within a cylindrical vessel.⁶³ At present, these sets represent early desires to equip the dead with items that were valued for their utilitarian

⁶⁰ For report, see Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo (Zou Heng 鄒衡, ed.), *Tianma-Qucun 1980-1989* 天馬—曲村 1980-1989, 4 vols. (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 2000).

⁶¹ For report, see Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Sanmenxia Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui, *Sanmenxia Guo guo mudi, diyijuan* 三門峽虢國墓地, 第一卷, 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1999).

⁶² Minao Hayashi, “Concerning the Inscription, ‘May Sons and Grandsons Eternally use this [Vessel]’.” *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 53, No. ½ (1993), 51-53, 55-58.

⁶³ For example, the authors of the report for this cemetery point out that the pointed-bottom pottery vessel (small examples of which are associated with the toiletry sets that I have identified) is a characteristic type found in burials of the Shu people in Guanghan (Sichuan). See Lu and Hu 1988, 453-55. Interestingly, as will be discussed in the following section, some of the earliest toiletry cases were later produced in this same region. One wonders if there is a connection between the rounded bronze-wood hybrid vessel found in tomb no. 20 at Zhuyuangou and those produced later in lacquered wood and fabric the Shu region. A significant gap in time, however, still exists between that of the Yu State and later lacquered versions that do not appear until the 3rd c. BCE.

functions of managing the body, and were possibly used in localized ritual traditions. It is only later, in the Warring States period, Qin and Han dynasties that these cases and their contents begin to be placed on a regular basis in tombs and mentioned in written tracts.

2.2 LATER TOILETRY CASES: EASTERN ZHOU, QIN, AND HAN

Before embarking on an analysis of the significances of Warring States period through Han dynasty toiletry items in mortuary contexts, I look at the emergence and development of the lacquered toiletry cases and their contents as sets in an attempt to understand both how such items functioned in life and the nature of beauty regimes as the early Chinese perceived them. In doing so, I aim at the very outset to combine a formal and technical discussion of these items with consideration of the people who possessed them, used them in their daily routines of beautification, and later, took them into death. As such, the approach compels us to question what it meant to engage in routines of beautification in life, and in turn, how such activities were linked to the construction and maintenance of identity, including aspects such as class and gender. To begin, consideration of an image of a toiletry case in use will serve to further introduce these themes.

One of the earliest toilette scenes discovered in China was found on a painted lacquer *pan* plate unearthed from a tomb at Ma'anshan 馬鞍山 (Anhui).⁶⁴ Though this tomb is datable to 249 CE, it is likely that the lacquerwares discovered within were produced in the latter half of the

⁶⁴ For a brief report of this tomb, see Anhui Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Ma'anshan Shi Wenwuju, "Anhui Ma'anshan Dong Wu Zhu Ran mu fajue jianbao 安徽馬鞍山東吳朱然墓發掘簡報," *Wenwu* (1986.3), 1-15. For an image and drawing of this painted lacquer pan plate, see Wang Jun 王俊, ed., *Ma'anshan Wenwu Ju Zhen* 馬鞍山文物聚珍(Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2006), 67.

Han dynasty, known as the Eastern Han period (25-220 CE).⁶⁵ This toilette scene is composed of a woman in a flowing robe arranging her hair before a mirror with an open toiletry case at her side. It is one among several vignettes featured on the plate that show other figures engaged in activities, including entertaining, playing cosmic board games, falconry, and journeying through mountainous landscapes. These accompanying scenes, two of which include attentive servants, all depict different facets of elite life during the Han period. That the toilette scene is shown on par with these others indicates that it, too, was considered a significant part of an elite lifestyle. Indeed, the excavators have entitled the painting on this plate, “Picture of Aristocratic Life (*guizu shenghuo tu* 貴族生活圖).”

Though the tomb was robbed, archaeologists were able to identify its occupant as the general and statesman, Zhu Ran 朱然. Another painted lacquer plate that escaped the attention of the looters, like the “Aristocratic Life” plate, measured 24.8 cm in diameter and was encircled by a gilt bronze mount. A figural scene in the central roundel refers to the story of Ji Zha, a prince from the 6th c. BCE who was celebrated for his exemplary conduct toward the Lord of Xu. According to Anthony Barbieri-Low, such a story would have been suitable for this dinner plate form, as it specifically refers to the relationship expected between host and guest.⁶⁶ Zhu Ran, himself an official who may have participated in diplomatic missions, would have been able to relate to such themes. Similarly, Zhu Ran’s rank and station in life would have afforded him the knowledge and appreciation of the activities portrayed in the “Aristocratic Life” plate. Though a woman is depicted in the toilette scene, Zhu Ran’s own lifestyle would have necessitated

⁶⁵ According to Anthony Barbieri-Low, the lacquerwares discovered in this tomb probably date to the latter part of the Eastern Han period. Anthony Barbieri-Low, “Roman Themes in a Group of Eastern Han Lacquer Vessels,” *Oriental Art* (May 2001), 52-58.

⁶⁶ Barbieri-Low 2001: 57.

grooming oneself before a mirror, as a proper appearance would have been of importance, especially in official capacities.

Indeed, this image reinforces the biased association of toiletry items and practices of beautification with the feminine in early China. In fact, this gender-bias even extended to later parlance, which has incorporated the character, *lian*, into compounds related to bridal matters, such as *peilian* 陪奩, meaning “a dowry,” and *lianjing* 奩敬, or “gifts to the bride.”⁶⁷ The archaeological record, however, provides a different picture for early China, in which centuries of sexed mortuary contexts reveal that women and men alike were supplied with personal collections of combs, mirrors, hairpins, tweezers, brushes, and cosmetic substances, often enclosed within a lacquered case. To be sure, among the lacquerwares provided to Zhu Ran for the afterlife was his very own toiletry case.⁶⁸

We can compare this setting in China with that of New Kingdom Egypt, where painted boxes filled with lavishly ornamented mirrors, combs, razors, tweezers, hairpins, and perfume bottles have been found in association with both women and men. Scholars have discussed the nature of the elaborate beauty regimens practiced by both sexes, which according to Lynn Meskell must have been so time-consuming that they were virtually ritualized and afforded only by an elite.⁶⁹ She has noted that certain practices may have been similar across the sexes and that despite the fact that women were the iconographic centerpieces of toilette scenes, in life, males may have also been appreciated by both sexes for the care they took in their appearances.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See Ma Weidu 馬未都, “Guizhong zhuang lian 闺中妝奩,” *Dongfang Yangsheng* (2007.2), 51-52.

⁶⁸ Little is reported about this toiletry case, but reference to the discovery of toiletry items (妝奩器用) is made in the preface about the tomb from the museum monograph. See Wang Jun 王俊 (ed.), *Ma'anshan Wenwu Ju Zhen* 馬鞍山文物聚珍 (Treasure Collection of Cultural Relics of Ma'anshan) (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2006).

⁶⁹ Lynn Meskell, *Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 161.

⁷⁰ Lynn Meskell and Rosemary Joyce, *Embodied Lives: Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyptian Experience* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 58.

As will be demonstrated, attention to matters of beautification for women and men in Han period China was with regard to certain features very much in accord, while for others, practices may have differed. For example, the ideal of flawless, white skin was gender-neutral, suggesting that white powders were used generously by both women and men. At the same time, while combs and pomades helped to fulfill standards of neat, shiny and healthy hair, men may have employed them for the additional purposes of maintaining facial hair, and women, as aids in fashioning ever-complex hairstyles. Such notions indicate that though women and men possessed similar toiletries, we need not jump to the conclusion that practices of beautification were uniform. To be sure, consideration of toiletry items and cosmetics in cultural contexts such as New Kingdom Egypt and early China are a case in point for why anthropological approaches to gender analysis in mortuary contexts have moved well beyond the studies of the 1970s and 80s, which regarded objects in burial as direct symbols or representations of gender.⁷¹ Rather than reading gender in terms of direct correlations, attention has been focused on how material objects are drawn into the construction or negotiation of gender. Archaeologists have recently brought objects to the fore in the study of gender as a lived experience, or performance, ideas first developed by the feminist scholar, Judith Butler.⁷² Thus, when we consider toiletry items from this perspective, it is more informative to take a closer look at individual contents and consider how they mediated or neutralized gendered distinctions through embodied use. Moreover, as Lynn Meskell has suggested, toiletry items may have been equally meaningful for the ways in which their possession and use were a means of communicating other facets of

⁷¹ Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, "Gender, Things, and Material Culture," in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006), 105-35.

⁷² Judith Butler's books, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990) and *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (London: Routledge, 1993), were responses to the fiction of the mind/body dichotomy that at the time characterized the gender and sex as differing concepts. Butler argued that the only way to understand the lived experience of the gendered body was by destabilizing these distinct categories. See also, Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (London: Routledge, 1999).

identity, such as class and status.⁷³ Indeed, in both Egypt and China, these items were lavishly ornamented and it is likely that they were of equal and occasionally greater worth than other luxury objects placed in tombs.

These questions will be explored further later in this chapter, but they are ideas that are useful to keep in mind when considering the evolution of the toiletry case as can be understood through examples unearthed from burials of the Warring States through Han. In what follows, I trace the chronological development of the toiletry case in both form and ornamentation.

2.2.1 Eastern Zhou and Qin: Early Forms and Décor

The first identifiable patterns for placing toiletry cases with deceased individuals occurred during the late Warring States period (4th-3rd c. BCE). Earlier, by the end of the Western Zhou period, the network of states loyal to the Zhou royal house had begun to shift their allegiances inward and evolve into independent entities vying for power and political control over larger domains. Significantly weakened in authority, the Zhou rulers were forced to flee east and create a new capital at Luoyang in 771 BCE, thus marking the Eastern Zhou, or latter half of the dynasty. This period is further divided into a Spring and Autumn Period (771- ca. 450 BCE) and a Warring States Period (ca. 450-221 BCE).⁷⁴ Among the more important players of the contending states, Chu 楚 and Qin 秦 demonstrated the most profound and lasting effects on later

⁷³ Meskell 2002, 165.

⁷⁴ These periods are each named after received texts that chronicle events in specific regions: The *Chunqiu*, or *Spring and Autumn Annals*, describes events of the Lu polity from 722-481 BCE; and the *Zhan'guo Ce*, or *Discourses of the Warring States*, which is a compilation of anecdotes from many of the contending states, begins in 453 BCE. Though these texts do not represent contiguous periods, Lothar von Falkenhausen has elected to divide them at ca. 450 BCE. This date is based on a reconfiguration of states in the north in 453 BCE and its proximity to the events that begin the *Zhan'guo Ce*. Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BCE): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2006), 7-8.

Chinese culture. Though critically overpowered by Qin in 278 BCE, elements of Chu culture, including artistic style, religious beliefs, and burial customs remained pervasive throughout the empire into the Han period. Both states had control of lacquer producing centers throughout their territories, and toiletry cases were among their repertoires. This lasted until the early 3rd c. BCE, when Qin gained territory and assumed control over the Chu workshops, after which it gradually unified the remaining states in 221 BCE. The geographic distribution of toiletry cases found in tombs from the 4th-3rd c. BCE centers on Haojiaping (Sichuan); Shucheng (Anhui); Yunmeng, Jingmen and Jiangling (Hubei); and Changsha (Hunan).

Several different variations of the toiletry case appear during this period, and all but one share with the Western Zhou bronze example at Zhuyuangou the form of a cylindrical container with cover. Though the use of lacquer for a wider range of objects becomes apparent in tombs around the 5th c. BCE, examples of lacquer toiletry cases do not appear until about a century later.⁷⁵ They were made mostly from cores of carved or bent wood, or ramie fabric.⁷⁶ Many layers of lacquer were applied to these cores, with red pigment commonly added to paint the interior of vessels, and black to adorn the exterior. Decoration on toiletry cases was at this time limited mostly to geometric, natural and stylized plant patterns, as well as animal forms that were incised or painted.

The toiletry cases that date the earliest exhibit the most variations in form. In particular, those produced in Chu workshops are relatively large and have distinctive silhouettes, core

⁷⁵ According to the research of Chen Zhenyu, only one lacquer toiletry case has been found in an Early Warring States tomb. Discovered in 1981, tomb no. 306 at Zhaoxing Shizishan (Zhejiang) had some remaining lacquers, though many were already decayed upon excavation. Among them was a square box, round box, pan, earcup, and toiletry case. The short report for this tomb offers few details about these items. Also notable about this case is that it was found in a tomb located outside of the known Qin and Chu lacquer spheres. See See Chen 2006, 214. For the brief report to this tomb, see Zhejiang sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui et al., “Zhaoxing 306 hao Zhanguo mu fajue jianbao 紹興 306 號戰國墓發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* (1984.1), 10-25.

⁷⁶ Thote 2003: 348.

materials, and decorative programs. For example, a well-preserved toiletry case found in a female tomb at Tianxingguan, Jingzhou (Hubei), which has been dated to 350-330 BCE, is anomalous for its bronze ringed handles and feet [A:1].⁷⁷ This case was painted black, has minimal incised decoration, and stands at 13.2 cm high by 32 cm in diameter. The contents of this toiletry case, which include two bronze mirrors, two bronze knives with jade handles, a belt hook and an assortment of pendants, rings, and beads, are complimented by a rectangular bamboo case that contained two knives, wooden and horn comb sets, and another object of unknown function. In Warring States tombs and some Han examples from Chu, toiletry items, such as combs, mirrors and hairpins, could also be found in these bamboo cases, or *zhusi* 竹筩. Examples from the Warring States include Mashan 馬山 tomb no. 1 (Hubei) and Xiangxiang Niuxingshan 湘鄉牛形山 tomb no. 1 (Hunan)⁷⁸, as well as several tombs from the cemetery at Jiudian (Hubei). Many of these cases, such as those from Jiudian 九店, are nearly identical to lacquered toiletry cases in form and size.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ For report, see Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Bowuguan, *Jingzhou Tianxingguan er hao Chu mu* 荊州天星觀楚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2003). The anomalous features of this vessel are characteristic of *zun* wine containers, with which toiletry cases were historically confused. Here, however, this form was used for toiletries. For a discussion of the misidentification of the *zun* as a *lian* vessel, see Mao Yan 冒言, “Zun lian bianxi 樽奩辨析,” *Wenbo* (2008.1), 36-42.

⁷⁸ See Hunan Sheng Bowuguan, “Hunan Xiangxiang Niuxingshan yi, er hao daxing Zhan’guo mu guo mu 湖南湘鄉牛形山一、二號大型戰國木槨墓,” *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* (1980.3), 98-112.

⁷⁹ Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, eds. *Jiangling Jiudian Dong Zhou mu* 江陵九店東周墓. (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 1995), Plate 96.3. In many instances, the cases are not complimentary. At Mashan, for example, the lacquered *lian* vessel contained eight grey-colored mud cakes that resemble cakes of gold, while a small rounded bamboo case contained bronze mirror and silk mirror sac; other rectangular cases contained items such as silk fragments and wooden combs, as well as fragrant grasses. Incidentally, the lacquered *lian* was itself found in a rectangular bamboo case along with other lacquered and bronze vessels. See Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Diqu Bowuguan, eds., *Jiangling Mashan Yi hao Chu mu* 江陵馬山一號楚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1985), 87-93.

Another atypical toiletry case was found in the tomb of the official, Shao Tuo 邵 [力它], at Baoshan 包山 in Jingmen (Hubei), datable to 316 BCE [A:10b].⁸⁰ This case stands out for its distinctive configuration of body and cover, combination leather and fabric core, and polychrome painted exterior which features an early landscape composition. Rather than possessing a cover that extends over the walls of the body, the cover and the body of this vessel come together at a central point and are flush with one another. The cores of these two parts were formed of rolled leather that was wrapped in a layer of ramie fabric and then lacquered.⁸¹ During the Warring States, leather was used mainly in cores for helmets, shields, and weaponry.⁸² This case is 10.9 cm in height and 27.9 cm in diameter. Featured on the walls of the cover are a series of pictorial scenes made up of figures, chariots, and animals that inhabit a landscape in which different narrative events appear to be separated by trees that bend in the wind. This vessel has been cited often for this innovative frieze of human activity, which utilizes a color palette characteristic of more luxurious Chu wares, including different shades of red and orange, earthy yellow and vibrant green. Two thirds of the interior was filled with *huajiao* 花椒, or prickly ash, upon excavation. The vessel also contained a square bronze mirror (with traces of silk on top), a round bronze mirror, powder puff, two bone hairpins, a clam shell, and two wooden items of unknown function. The design scheme on a lacquered box from the looted tomb of Shao Tuo's

⁸⁰ For the report of this tomb, see Hubei Sheng Jingsha Tielu Kaogu Dui, *Baoshan Chu mu* 包山楚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991).

⁸¹ In addition to this toiletry case, another *lian* was discovered in this tomb, though because it was empty upon excavation, it is unclear whether or not it was used for toiletries. Regardless of this, the tomb report suggests the phrase “*er ge yun* 二革圆,” or “two leather bands,” written on the bamboo inventory slips from this tomb refer to the two toiletry cases. See Hubei Sheng Jingsha Tielu Kaogu Dui 1991, 144. To the contrary, in his dissertation, Lai Guolong translates this phrase as “two leather bags” (substituting the 圆 for 圓 *yuan*, or “round”) and mentions that in the bamboo slips, only the contents of these cases are listed, and not the cases themselves. See Lai Guolong, “The Baoshan Tomb: Religious Transitions in Art, Ritual and Text during the Warring States Period (480-221 BCE),” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2002), 36, 166.

⁸² Hong 2006, 118.

wife (tomb no. 1) represents a more conventional example of the Chu style, which involves highly stylized and complex interlaced patterns in red against black. Because this case was empty upon excavation, its designation as a toiletry case is uncertain.⁸³

One other example should be noted, if not for its dramatic departure from the rounded container form, then for its ingenious design. Discovered in 2002 in the tomb of a senior Chu official (*daifu* 大夫) at Jiuliandun 九連墩 (tomb no. 1, Hubei), this particular toiletry case was formed of two lacquered rectangular wooden boards connected at one end by a pivot.⁸⁴ When opened, the interiors of the two boards reveal an organized layout of toiletry items nestled in form-fitting spaces. On one side are mounted a bronze mirror and a curved, ring-headed knife, while the other side includes spaces for a wooden comb and two shallow areas for cosmetic substances. Both sides also include an adjustable support that allowed the case to remain propped open while the official prepared his toilette. Though the standard toiletry case for was itself portable, this compact form appears particularly suited to travel. No other cases of this type have yet been unearthed, its advanced design suggests that such forms had been produced long before this time. Moreover, this case stands as a testament to the potential variety of forms and greater quantity of examples that were buried during this early period.

In addition to these distinctive examples, two cemeteries yield information on more standardized forms. These types are rounded with covers that extend around the body of the vessel, and generally exhibit red painted designs against a black background. Fifty-six toiletry cases were found among the seventy-two tombs published from a Qin cemetery at Qingchuan,

⁸³ It is possible that this is an example of a box for food, though it was placed near two wooden combs and a bronze mirror.

⁸⁴ No report has been published for this tomb. It has, however, been featured in Guojia Wenwu ju, eds., 2002 *Zhongguo Zhongyao Kaogu Faxian*, 2002 中國重要考古發現 (Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2002) (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2003), 52-56. Unfortunately, there are no images of the toiletry case in this report.

Haojiaping (Sichuan), datable to the 3rd c. BCE.⁸⁵ They are relatively small, ranging in diameter from 13 to 21.5 cm. Because many of the cases were partially decayed upon excavation, the height range from the report is limited, but available examples stand between 9 and 12 cm high. The underside of what was probably one of the largest among these toiletry cases contains branded characters filled in with vermilion pigment that indicate *Cheng ting* 成亭, or the guardpost at Chengdu (Sichuan), as the place of production. Workshops in Chengdu are known for their lacquerwares over fabric cores. Fabric-bodied vessels required more time and labor; the product, however, was lighter, thinner and more durable. For these reasons, lacquerwares with fabric cores were more valued and viewed as luxury pieces.⁸⁶ Of the 172 lacquer objects (eight types) excavated from published burials at Haojiaping, toiletry cases not only dominated in quantity (they occupied 33% of the total yield), but were also higher in quality as the only type - with the exception of spoons - that were made from fabric cores.⁸⁷ In regard to decoration, the relatively large surface area available on the top of each cover was clearly the artistic focus of these vessels, which exhibit a range of design schemes, from interlaced serpents and elegant bird forms, to geometric patterns of whirls and straight. A distinctive “B” shaped motif that occasionally morphs into recognizable birds’ heads, which has become characteristic of Qin wares, is also present among the designs of some of these toiletry cases. Because only a brief

⁸⁵ See Sichuan Sheng Bowuguan and Qingchuan Xian Wenhuaquan, “Qingchuan xian chutu Qin geng xiu Tian Lu mudu 青川縣出土秦更修田律木牘,” *Wenwu* (1982.1), 1-21. There is very little information about specific burial contexts in this report, and so information on these toiletry cases has not been included in the Appendix.

The short report for this cemetery notes that for some of these toiletry cases, the diameter of the cover is smaller than that of the body of the vessel, in which case the cover would fit inside. There are no examples discussed, nor are drawings of this configuration provided. For a comparative discussion of the lacquers from this cemetery and other Qin site with Chu lacquer types, see Thote 2006.

⁸⁶ Barbieri-Low 2001, 271-72.

⁸⁷ According to the report, the toiletry cases were made from cores of thin bent wood, bamboo and fabric. It does not specify how many or which toiletry cases contained fabric cores.

report was published, details about the contents of these cases are not available⁸⁸, with the exception of that in tomb no. 26, which contained two wooden combs.

Slightly more information is provided for a large number of tombs excavated in the Changsha area⁸⁹, many of which are contemporary with or later than those from the cemetery at Haojiaping. In fact, Alain Thote has noted that the dates of some of these burials stretched into the Qin and even early Han periods.⁹⁰ Of the two thousand tombs reported, thirteen included a total of fourteen toiletry cases [A:12-24]. At least five of these cases contained mirrors and comb sets; among these and in others were also cosmetic substances and bronze brushes. Changsha (Hunan) became a center of a Chu cultural revival after the Qin invaded their capital at Ying 郢 (near present-day Jiangling, Hubei) in 278 BCE. As noted above, control of lacquer-producing workshops was usurped by the Qin along with new territories, and the toiletry cases from Changsha bear signs of a marriage of Qin and Chu styles. For one, most Chu lacquers were made from wooden cores, but some of the later cases found at Changsha have a combination wooden and fabric core (in which the cover and base of the vessel were of wood and the walls of fabric). In addition, while Chu is known for its elegantly painted patterns with highly stylized animal forms [A:21], some of these vessels exhibit the more pronounced zoomorphic design schemes of the Qin, and others exhibit the “B” shaped motif.⁹¹

In fact, many of the toiletry cases that are found in tombs dated to the following Qin dynasty can be compared to those found among the Changsha cemeteries. Sites where toiletry cases of Qin date have been found are concentrated in the modern province of Hubei, with the addition of one tomb from the Sichuan region. Two cases were also indicated in tombs of the

⁸⁸ It is possible that many of these cases were used as food vessels.

⁸⁹ Hunan Sheng Bowuguan et al. 2000.

⁹⁰ Thote 2006, 363, n. 30.

⁹¹ For a toiletry case that exhibits the “B” shaped motif, see Hunan Sheng Bowuguan 2000, Vol. I, 364, fig. 292.

Guangzhou area, but their poor state of preservation bars any attempts at stylistic comparison. In terms of painted decoration, toiletry cases from this period begin to exhibit designs on the interior of the vessels, both along the inside ridge of the body and the bottom surface itself. Examples have been found mostly among the toiletry cases from the cemetery at Yunmeng, Shuihudi (Hubei), but decorated interiors are also indicated on toiletry cases from unpublished burials from Guangshan, Kangang (Henan).⁹² This phenomenon is not unique to toiletry cases, but it does underscore the personalized nature of these vessels, which were to be admired from afar and appreciated by their owners during individualized use. Curiously, most, if not all of these vessels have wooden cores. Though not common to all, these vessels also tend to be slightly shorter, some as little as 6.7 cm high. Oval *lian* forms also appear during this period, though they are all empty and so their designation as toiletry cases remains unclear. The most significant change in the toiletry case of the Qin period is its place within burial layouts. As will be discussed in the following chapter, toiletry cases begin to be placed in the inner coffin along with the deceased body.

2.2.2 Han Dynasty Developments

A significant increase in the appearance of toiletry cases in burials occurred during the Han Dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE). At least fifty sites across multiple regions of the empire (Hubei, Hunan, Anhui, Jiangsu, Shandong, Hebei, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Chongqing, Guangdong and

⁹² There are at least three toiletry cases discovered among the Qin tombs at Yunmeng Shuihudi that included painted decorative patterns on the outside as well as the on the underside of the cover and interior bottoms of the vessels. See Hubei Sheng Bowuguan, “1978 nian Yunmeng Qin Han mu fajue baogao, 1978 年運夢秦漢墓發掘報告,” *Kaogu Xuebao* (1986.4), 492. Color images of the painted interior of toiletry case from tomb no. 25 at Yunmeng Shuihudi, along with several examples from Guangshan, Kangang are published in *Zhongguo Qiqi Quanji Bianji* Weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhongguo qiqi quanji*, Vol. 2: Zhan’guo-Qin (Fuzhou: Fuzhou Meishu Chubanshe, 1998).

Guangxi) contain burials that include toiletry case sets. The Qin's rule over a newly unified China, despite its short duration of some sixteen years, ushered in a degree of cultural unity that can be observed in the archaeological record. Regional traditions persisted throughout the Han—of which toiletry cases serve as testament—but the very presence of the toiletry case form in additional burials in the far reaches of the northeast (Liaoning and North Korea) and southwest (Yunnan) is indicative of widespread cultural participation.⁹³ Examples from the dynastic center date mainly to the Western Han period (206 BCE- 9 CE), or the first half of the dynasty when the capital was located at Chang'an (near present-day Xi'an, Shanxi). After a short interregnum when Wang Mang 王莽 usurped power (Xin 新Dynasty, 9-25 CE) from the reigning Liu family, the capital moved east to Luoyang (Henan), thus marking the latter half of the dynasty, or the Eastern Han (25-220 CE). Few toiletry cases have survived from the Eastern Han, in part because conditions for preservation had changed: the vertical shaft, wooden-chambered structures of the Western Han began to be constructed in shallower pits or were replaced altogether by multi-chambered, brick-lined tombs.⁹⁴ Toiletry cases from Eastern Han tombs are concentrated in present-day Jiangsu and Henan, though examples have also been found in Liaoning, Gansu, and Yunnan.

Toiletry cases discovered in Han burials were created from both wooden and fabric cores or, like earlier examples from the Warring States period, a mixture of both. A refinement of lacquer-producing technologies is evident in examples such as that of Lady Dai from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui (Hunan) [C:26a]. Archaeologists have determined that while the middle and

⁹³ In addition, toiletry cases similar to those found in Chinese tombs have been found in tombs of this period beyond the political borders of the Han. These examples and their contexts certainly merit further research, but such analysis unfortunately falls outside the parameters of the present study. See Niya, Minfeng, and Shanpula in Xianjiang; also research of Sergei M.

⁹⁴ Barbieri-Low 2001, 203, n. 76. This change in tomb structure will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

bottom round panels were made from thin, cut wood, the cover and walls of the vessel were crafted from ramie fabric that was overlaid with silk and then lacquered. Pottery *lian* forms are also found in burials from this period, such as those from Huoshan (Anhui) tomb no. 4 and Shaogou, Luoyang (Henan).⁹⁵ These examples, however, are always empty upon excavation and so their correlation with toiletry cases is unclear.

Several striking developments in the form and decoration of toiletry cases can be observed in examples from Han dynasty tombs. In particular, toiletry cases expand in size and content, vary in form and ornament, and in many cases continue to occupy significant locations among burial goods. Moreover, these developments are expressive of particular desires to organize and compartmentalize toiletry items, nearly mirroring the changes that were taking place in burial chambers, as will be discussed later. In terms of form, many toiletry cases from this period contain an added level of storage space. One of the earliest double-leveled toiletry cases was found in a burial at Yunmeng, Dafentou雲夢大墳頭 (tomb no. 1), dating to the early Western Han [C:22a]. In addition to the body and cover of the standard, single-leveled case, these cases have an added middle section that divides the interior into upper and lower levels. In the burial at Dafentou, which could not be sexed, the toiletry case contained a bronze mirror, jade *bi* 璧, two wooden *gua* 刮scraper knives, and one *shu* 梳and three *bi* 篋combs (see below for the difference between these combs).⁹⁶ In addition to Hubei, double-leveled cases are found

⁹⁵ See Anhui Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Huoshan Xian Wenwu Guanli Suo, “Anhui Huoshan Xian Xi Han mu guo mu 安徽霍山縣西漢木槨墓,” *Wenwu* 1991.9, 40-60, figs. 16.6, 16.11, 23, 24; and Luoyang Qu Kaogu Fajue Dui, *Luoyang Shaogou Han mu* 洛陽燒溝漢墓 (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 1959), 130-32, fig. 62, plate 35-36. Many of the vessels designated as *lian* in this report are in fact *zun*.

⁹⁶ Because the middle section of this toiletry case was deteriorated upon excavation, the distribution of these objects throughout the levels was unclear.

in burials of the present-day provinces of Hunan, Jiangsu, Anhui, and possibly, Sichuan.⁹⁷ The toiletry case from the early 2nd c. BCE tomb of Lady Dai at Mawangdui (Hunan) is among the most well-known of these double-leveled cases, not to mention one of the largest ever discovered [C:26a]. While the case at Dafentou measured 22.5 cm in diameter, Lady Dai's was an impressive 35.2 cm in diameter. Indeed, most cases from this period fall between 20 and 30 cm in diameter and average 14-15 cm tall, a significant increase in size when compared with examples from earlier periods.

In one small concentration of tombs in the area of Hubei province, the toiletry cases recovered have three levels. At least seven examples have been found (five of which were in one joint burial) from a cemetery at Gaotai 高台 [C:12b, 14b, 16a-e], and one from tomb no. 9 at Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 [C:3b]. Examples from both locations have thin wooden divisions that stand upright and further compartmentalize individual levels of the cases. At Gaotai, these thin divisions are also in the form of small containers that can be removed.

More commonly, however, this further compartmentalization took the form of smaller boxes, such as the nine examples from the toiletry case of Lady Dai at Mawangdui. These small boxes represent another important development that became widespread during the Han period. Sets of three, five, seven or nine rounded, oval, square, rectangular and horse hoof-shaped boxes have been found nestled inside toiletry cases from burials throughout most of the Han Empire. Most were placed loosely within the case, while others, such as those from Lady Dai's case

⁹⁷ The tomb unearthed in present-day Sichuan province that contained what was possibly a double-leveled toiletry case is tomb no. 3 at Chongqing Linjiang Zhilu. According to the brief report, a bow-shaped fabric bodied lacquer piece was found in this tomb. Its mouth was lined with a silver mount, and bodied covered with black lacquer and white dashes and dots. Because a bronze mirror was found just next to these remains, the authors of the report posit that this was originally a double-leveled, multiple-box toiletry case; they also hypothesize that the bronze mirror was originally placed in the top level of the case. See Chongqing Shi Bowuguan, "Chongqing Shi Linjiang Zhilu Xi Han mu 重慶市臨江支路西漢墓," *Kaogu* .3, 239.

[C:26a] and another example at Yinqueshan 銀雀山 (Shandong), were set within specially made cavities that mimicked the silhouette of each box. Among these small boxes, form generally followed function: the horse hoof-shaped boxes were made specifically for combs; while rectangular boxes held bronze brushes, hairpins, sewing needles or eyeliner pens; and the small square, round and oval boxes were used for cosmetic substances. A small square box from a tomb no. 101 at Yaozhuang 姚莊 (Jiangsu) contained a tiny wooden spoon, presumably an implement for the cosmetic that was once in the box [C:44c].⁹⁸ This trend of equipping the toiletry case with a series of smaller boxes can be traced back archaeologically to the late Warring States period in Changsha, where in a female burial at Yangjiawan 楊家灣, white cosmetic powders were found in two small round boxes of a toiletry case [A:15a].⁹⁹ This same region has also yielded Han period toiletry cases with the highest number of boxes: a person of royal rank at Tangjialing 湯家嶺 was found with the toiletry case containing ten boxes [C:28a], and a high-ranking woman from Xianjiahu 咸家湖 possessed a case with eleven boxes [C:29b].¹⁰⁰ Though many of these sets appear to have been created as a stylistically coherent grouping, some cases contain smaller boxes that are not consistent in ornamentation with their larger container. As in the five-box case of Lady Dai, these boxes also do not fit snugly within the interior space [C:26b]. This is suggestive that in some instances, smaller boxes could be collected over time.

⁹⁸ This spoon was observed firsthand, and not mentioned in the brief report to this tomb.

⁹⁹ This is the only example from Warring States in which these smaller boxes were found in the toiletry case. See Hunan Sheng Bowuguan et al. 2000, Vol. I, 358-62, fig. 292; Vol. II, fig. 116.2-3.

¹⁰⁰ For short reports of these tombs, see Hunan Sheng Bowuguan, “Changsha Tangjialing Xi Han mu qingli baogao 長沙湯家嶺西漢墓清理報告,” *Kaogu* (1966.4), 181-188; and Changsha Shi wenhua ju wenwu zu, “Changsha Xianjiahu Xi Han Cao Zhuan mu 長沙咸家湖西漢曹[女巽]墓,” *Wenwu* (1979.3), 1-16. Another toiletry case with ten boxes was found in Hanjiang, Ganquan (Jiangsu). Like those in Changsha, this was a high-ranking burial, possibly of royal stature. See Nanjing Bowuguan, “Jiangsu Hanjian Ganquan er hao Han mu 江蘇邗江甘泉二號漢墓,” *Wenwu* (1981.11), 1-11.

In addition, toiletry cases from the Han period were not limited to rounded forms. Large, square or rectangular toiletry cases have been found in burials in present-day Jiangsu, Anhui, Hebei, and Hunan [C:44a-b, 50, 38b-c, 76a-b, 27d, and 28a]. For instance, matching rectangular toiletry cases were found within the inner coffins of a joint burial at Yangyuan, Sanfengou 楊原三汾沟 (Hebei), datable to 162 BCE [C:76a-b].¹⁰¹ These cases were made from wooden cores and had painted exteriors enhanced by metal buttons at each corner. While the male occupant's toiletry case was overall slightly larger, it was painted in plain black lacquer; the case of the female, on the other hand, was painted in brown and decorated with red cloud and geometric patterns, as well as animal figures. Each case included items such as comb sets, bronze brushes, tweezers, silk fragments, as well as other toiletry and personal objects, such as a wooden ruler, beads, and small carvings.

Like this example at Sanfengou, painted designs on Han period toiletry cases often feature cloud patterns that transform into bird forms or provide a background for further figural embellishment. Bears, tigers, deer, and real or imaginary birds are enfolded within these swirling masses or stand out in stark contrast. At times, these clouds are decipherable as landscapes within which human or celestial figures ride in chariots, participate in the hunt, play games or listen to music [C:44c-d; C:80]. The Queen Mother of the West, majestic bearer of immortality, even makes an appearance on these cases, personifying the other-worldly theme carried on many vessels.¹⁰² These main friezes of ornamentation are central to the cover and body of toiletry cases and are usually bounded by thinner bands of geometric patterns made up of

¹⁰¹ See Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo and Zhangjiakou Diqu Wenhua Ju, "Hebei Yangyuan Sanfengou Han mu qun fajue baogao 河北陽原三份構墓群發掘報告," *Wenwu* (1990.1), 1-18.

¹⁰² For an example of a toiletry case with an inlaid image of the Queen Mother of the West, see Zhongguo Qiqi Quanji Bianji Weiyuanhui 1998, Vol. 3, 140, fig. 235. The text indicates that this *lian* was found in a tomb in Hanjiang County (Jiangsu), though, to my knowledge, no report has been published.

diamonds, triangles, dots, lines or lozenge motifs (*lingxing jihewen* 菱形幾何紋). Moreover, this decoration is often repeated on the interiors toiletry cases. In an example from an early Western Han tomb at Xiangyang, Leigutai 襄陽擂鼓台 (tomb no. 1), the most interesting painted designs can be found inside the vessel [C:23c]. While the cover features standard cloud and geometric patterns, the underside of the cover and inside bottom exhibit painted figures interacting in a stretch of landscape. Men with prominent facial hair wearing official caps stand beside elaborately coiffed females. In their company are also strange anthropomorphic creatures and bird forms that watch over these scenes. Like the Warring States period toiletry case of the official Shao Tuo at Baoshan [A:10b] (located just south of Xiangyang in Hubei), these scenes are separated by trees and appear to have narrative content. Their location inside the vessel suggests that they were made specifically for the owner of the case, and may have had some personal significance.

The above decorative schemes were not only painted, but incised or enhanced by metallic embellishment. Metallic ornamentation, another development that is pronounced throughout the Han, appears on toiletry cases in the form of bronze or gilt bronze mounts, and gold and silver foil inlays. Metallic mounts (*kouqi* 鉤器), or frames that appear as bands encircling vessels, were first used in the Warring States period to reinforce the structure of lacquered vessels, especially those with thin walls of bent wood.¹⁰³ Curiously, no toiletry cases from the Warring States period exhibit such mounts. Their potential as decoration, however, was quickly realized. During the Han, they can be found on cases from the eastern parts of the empire, including present-day Jiangsu, Anhui and Shandong; they are also found along a western geographic strip,

¹⁰³ Barbieri-Low 2001, 281, 296-97.

from Shaanxi and down through to Sichuan and Yunnan.¹⁰⁴ These mounts, which are often of silver, are commonly part of decorative schemes that include a large stylized persimmon motif centered on the cover of the vessel, which can be found on cases as far west as the Yunnan region [D:13]. The five-box toiletry case found in the tomb of a high-ranking official at Anhui is another such example [C:33a]. The toiletry case from Hanjiang, Huchang 邗江胡場 (Jiangsu) shows this persimmon motif without the metallic mounts, and the seven boxes inside exhibit corresponding decoration [C:43b]. On the toiletry case, silver foil animals and birds are active within friezes of painted cloud patterns. Similar examples have been found in Shandong [C:67, 71, 73c], but a stylistic trend of dense cloud patterns is characteristic of the Jiangsu and Anhui regions. What is more, the cover of this vessel shows that the persimmon was once set with precious stones. The Jiangsu region in particular has yielded toiletry cases with metallic decoration set with red or yellow agate, or crystal stones [C:44c, 44e, 62a, 63].

The developments in the form and decoration of toiletry cases of the Han as described above, ranging from added levels and smaller accompanying boxes to advancements in surface decoration, most certainly reflect the highly organized and refined lacquer-producing industry of the time. Other lacquer types, such as vessels for dining, exhibited similar types of elaborate ornamentation. Indeed, such vessels were used and displayed in situations of social interaction, and therefore would have been significant signifiers of wealth or status. Still, toiletry cases were, in fact, at times among the most elaborately ornamented of all lacquerwares in burials. They are found enveloped in layers of intricate ornamentation, encrusted with precious stones, and in some instances, contain elaborate designs or imagery on their interiors. Their status as personal

¹⁰⁴ In locations where conditions for preservation of lacquers are poor, such as Sichuan and Yunnan, the presence of toiletry cases is often signaled by these metallic mounts and other metallic ornamentation, as well as toiletry objects in side.

possessions used mainly in private settings would certainly warrant such lavish decoration, which may have been meaningful when seen in the context of practices of beautification. Maria Wyke has pointed out that women's bodies in ancient Rome were imbued with the very notions of craftsmanship that went into the creation of the ornate articles that they held and used, and with which they adorned themselves.¹⁰⁵ The same might be said of the toiletry case in early China. Indeed, an exploration of these practices illustrates the lengths to which early Chinese women and men went in their efforts to refine and transform the body and face in order to fulfill social ideals.

2.3 COMMON CONTENTS: WARRING STATES THROUGH HAN

Examining the contents of the toiletry case is comparable to glimpsing the private worlds of the early Chinese elite. The tools contained in these boxes represent essential items used in grooming and daily maintenance of the face and hair, as well as those that were employed in enhancing, primping and refining features of one's appearance. In his investigation of the textual sources of the Zhou through Han dynasties, Peng Wei 彭卫 has found that facial features, hair, skin color, and figure were all characteristics commonly remarked upon in descriptions of appearance. Among positive features common across gender were large eyes full of spirit; white, straight teeth; long and dark hair; and clear, white skin.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, he found that attention was given to different body parts when describing favorable features for women and

¹⁰⁵ Maria Wyke, "Woman in the Mirror: The Rhetoric of Adornment in the Roman World," in *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, ed., Leonie J. Archer, Susan Fischler, and Maria Wyke (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1994), 144.

¹⁰⁶ Peng Wei 彭卫, *Han Dai Shehui Fengshang Yanjiu* 汉代社会风尚研究 (Xi'an: Sanqin Chubanshe, 1998), 114 and passim.

men: whereas the eyes, hair, eyebrows, hands and waist were eulogized for women, men were more often praised for their noses, facial hair, and height. These sites of the body are thrown into relief when descriptions of ugliness are considered. For example, in the *Lienüzhuan* 烈女傳, ugly woman Zhongli Chun 鍾離春 is described as having “sunken eyes, long fingers and big joints...a thick neck and sparse hair.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, characteristics that Peng found to be gender-specific tended to imply an added dimension of comportment within the ideals of beauty. For example, a woman’s body was to be thin, but also willowy, graceful and lissome. A man’s frame, on the other hand, was to be large and imposing, with a gait exuding strength.¹⁰⁸ The ideals of beauty in early China can thus be accessed beyond the physical and understood in a more embodied sense.

Before exploring individual items of the toiletry case, a comparative look at some sets in their entirety will be useful to keep in mind how these collections might convey or neutralize gendered difference, as discussed earlier. As indicated in the examples described above, toiletry cases have been found with both female and males since their inception in burial. Two sets of data for some of the most richly-furnished toiletry cases can be found in Tables 1 and 2. Items unique to female and male cases are found in the outer columns, while those in common are listed in the central column. In the first example, the combined contents of two toiletry cases from both the tombs of Lady Dai and her son at Mawangdui are listed [C:26a,b and C27a,b, respectively] (Table 1). A significant difference in age is also represented here: it has been determined that Lady Dai died at around fifty years of age, while her son was in his mid to late thirties at death. The second example includes the contents of the rectangular toiletry cases

¹⁰⁷ “深目，長壯，大節...肥頤，少髮。” *Lienüzhuan* 6.8b (“Bantong 辯通”); translation in Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 269.

¹⁰⁸ Peng 1998.

found in each inner coffin of the joint male and female burial at Sanfengou [C:76a,b] (Table 2).

What is clear is that both females and males were concerned about appearance, but what was appropriate for each could differ.

Table 1. Items found in toiletry cases of Western Han Tomb nos. 1 and 3 at Mawangdui (Hunan)

Contents unique to the toiletry cases Tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui: Lady Dai	Contents in common between mother and son's toiletry cases	Contents unique to the toiletry cases Tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui: Lady Dai's Son
silk gloves (3 pair) silk powder puff silk needle bag silk mirror sac seal huajiao 花嬌 (prickly ash) xiangcao 香草 (fragrant grasses)	silk belts silk cloth silk mirror cloth cosmetic powders hair extensions brushes (<i>fu</i> 蕒) horn combs wooden combs <i>ji</i> 笄 hairpins mirror ring-headed knives	bone item (for official cap?) wooden sticks (for official cap?) wooden die (<i>liu bo</i> game piece) horn <i>zan</i> 簪 hairpin

Table 2. Items found in the toiletry cases of Late Western Han Tomb no. 9 at Sanfengou (Hebei)

Contents unique to toiletry case of female occupant at Sanfengou Tomb no. 9	Contents in common between female and male toiletry cases	Contents unique to toiletry case of male occupant at Sanfengou Tomb no. 9
Ruler with traces of iron	Silk fragments Bronze mirror Bronze brush Wooden combs Tweezers Powder lumps	Seal Wooden pig Iron horse bit Wooden bead Bone spoon Bamboo fragments

As is indicated, in addition to sets of toiletry items, these cases also contained a selection of personal objects. If considered in terms of these two categories, an interesting pattern is revealed: gender is more directly expressed by the personal objects rather than through toiletry items. Combs, mirrors and brushes, as well as cosmetic substances, tweezers and hairpins are all part of sets belonging to both females and males. If we look at items unique to the sexes, for example, a sense of the feminine is conveyed through the three pairs of exquisitely crafted silk gloves found in the top level of Lady Dai's double-leveled, nine-box toiletry case. Lines from early Chinese poetry, such as, "Slim, slim she shows her white hand," demonstrate how pale, delicate hands formed a literary trope for the beautiful woman.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the silk needle bag refers to the gendered activity of sewing, also celebrated in early poetry.¹¹⁰ *Xiangcao* 香草, or fragrant grasses, found in Lady Dai's five-box toiletry case may have been used to infuse waters for washing, or were hidden within her robes for their sweet perfume.¹¹¹ As with cinnabar, *hua jiao*, or prickly ash, was often placed in tombs for its believed powers to expel evil influence.¹¹² Kept alongside tools for bodily grooming and maintenance in the toiletry case, it may have been intended for other, more personal purposes, such as medicinal use, as is the case in modern China for ailments, such as treating illnesses of the stomach.¹¹³ Still, *hua jiao* probably did not refer to the feminine, as it was also found among the contents of Shao Tuo's box in Baoshan tomb no. 2 [A:10b], and instead may have been indicative of age. As for the personal items of the males in these examples, excavators believe that the bone and wooden items of Lady Dai's

¹⁰⁹ This poem of the first or second century CE, entitled, "Green, green the riverside grass," is translated in Anne Birrell, *New Songs from the Jade Terrace: An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 39.

¹¹⁰ Gu Xiuyun has discussed women's work, including weaving, as a topic of praise within the poetry of the Han. See Gu Xiuyun 贾秀云, "Cong Han shi kan han daide nuxing mei 从汉诗看汉代的女性美" *Xinwen Chubao* *Jiaoliu* (2000.6), 52-53.

¹¹¹ These grasses may even have been intended to perfume the toiletry case itself.

¹¹² Yao and Xu 2008.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 170.

son's case were attachments for his official cap, worn only by men. The horse bit found in the toiletry case of the male at Sanfengou likewise may have been associated with official rank and station.

Though non-toiletry items have the potential to communicate various facets of identity, in the following pages, I will demonstrate that the tools shared by women and men for managing the hair, face and skin could themselves figure in the lives of the early Chinese in complex ways. My exploration of these items utilizes contemporary texts to understand their significances within the embodied lives of the middle and high-ranking elite.

The maintenance and dressing of the hair is well represented among items in the toiletry case. Long, thick and shiny black hair was considered beautiful and a signature of youth for both women and men. At a most fundamental level, hair was necessarily neat and clean.¹¹⁴ In all periods of discussion, combs are one of the most essential items of the toiletry cases, where they are often found in sets of two (for example [C:26a, 52, 64, 86b]). Unlike those from earlier periods, combs beginning in the Warring States are of wood or horn¹¹⁵ and appear in a standardized horse-hoof shape (*ma ti xing* 馬蹄形). In the inventories on bamboo from Baoshan tomb no.2 (Hubei), the four wooden combs are listed as *zhi* 栉.¹¹⁶ According to the 2nd c. CE

¹¹⁴ Texts indicate that as early as the Zhou period, the elite washed their hair in waters scented with fragrant grasses. The first line of the second poem of “Nine Songs” from the *Chuci* reads: “We have bathed in orchid water and washed our hair with perfumes 浴蘭湯兮沐芳”; translation in David Hawkes, ed. and trans., *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* (New York: Penguin, 1985), 103. In addition, Emperor Cheng Di's concubine, Zhao Hede followed a strict regimen after bathing of using a *jiuhui* 九回 ointment for moisturizing her hair. In the time of Emperor Ling of the Eastern Han, workers made a boiled soup out of a kind of sweet-scented herb found in the Western regions for moisturizing their hair, and making it shiny and fragrant. Other substances used to maintain healthy hair included Chinese honey locust, bodhi seeds, and plant ash. See Wu Lingyun 吳凌雲, *Hong Hua: Nuxing de gu dian* 紅妝: 女性的古典 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2005), 3-6.

¹¹⁵ Wooden combs were used on wet hair, while those of horn were better suited to dry hair. See Hunan Sheng Bowuguan et al. 2000, 536; and Lin 2000-01, 35.

¹¹⁶ Hubei Sheng Jingsha Tielu Kaogu Dui 1991, Vol. 1, 369.

Shuowen Jiezi, *zhi* refers to a set of *shu*梳 and *bi*篦 combs.¹¹⁷ The *shu* comb has sparse teeth, and was used in managing the head and facial hair,¹¹⁸ while the teeth of the *bi* are denser, and were therefore apt in dislodging dirt or grease.¹¹⁹ Some Han period tombs have yielded comb sets of three, in which the third presented an even higher density of teeth. At Zhucheng 諸城 (Shandong), combs were of thirteen, twenty-nine, and fifty-six teeth, respectively [C:73c]. In some examples of this additional comb type, spaces between the teeth are virtually invisible, rendering it particularly useful in expelling parasites or fleas.¹²⁰ To be sure, the practical functions of combs during these periods were emphasized in tandem with, and sometimes over, decorative qualities.¹²¹ They may have been indispensable to those living in the furthest reaches of the empire, as in the set of three found among the remains of a beacon tower near Dunhuang 敦煌.¹²² A comb was even included alongside exquisite silks and fabrics, gold ornamented accoutrements, and elegant clothing, as tribute gifts to the semi-mobile Xiongnu 匈奴 peoples, and therefore may have figured as a symbol of the Han Chinese in their self-perception as a

¹¹⁷ The *Shuowen jiezi* states, “*Zhi* is the general term for the *shubi* set 栳,梳比[篦]之總名也.” See *Shuowen jiezi*, vol. 57, 6a5b (“Mu Bu 木部”). The *Shiming* dictionary further explains, “梳言其齒疏也。數者曰比 (*Shu* is a word for [a comb with] scattered teeth; those with dense teeth are called *bi*).”(數 is explained by the commentator to mean *mi* 密 or “dense”). *Shiming* 釋名, by Liu Xi 劉熙, *Sibucongkan* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1922), 35b (“Shishoushi 釋首飾”).

¹¹⁸ As defined in the *Shuowen Jiezi*, “*shu* is for managing the hair 疏,理髮也.” See *Shuowen jiezi*, vol. 57, 6a5b (“Mu Bu”).

¹¹⁹ Gao 2001, 122.

¹²⁰ Sun 2008, 300. An example from tomb no. 9 at Dongfeng (Jiangsu) had an impressive 117 teeth: at 6.5 cm wide, there are almost twenty teeth per centimeter. See Yangzhou Bowuguan, “Yangzhou Dongfeng Zhuanwa chang ba, jiu hao Han mu qingli jianbao 陽州東風磚瓦廠八, 就好漢墓清理簡報,” *Kaogu* (1982.3), 242. According to one Chinese archaeologist, these extremely dense teeth were achieved by submerging a wooden piece in warm water until the fibers parted (personal communication).

¹²¹ Combs of these periods were still elegantly designed. For example, the semi-circular panel of the *bi* comb from the Tianxingguan tomb no. 2 set features an openwork carving of two symmetrical deer. Wooden combs from tomb no. 47 at Yunmeng Shuihudi (Hubei) have high-relief carvings of animals. Still, if we compare these combs to those of Fu Hao and examples from the early Warring States period, there are obvious differences in size and material. Moreover, the sculptural quality evident in many early combs underscores the more utilitarian function of the late Warring States period combs.

¹²² See Gansu Sheng Bowuguan and Dunhuang Xian Wenhuguan, “Dunhuang Maquanwan Han Dai fengsui yizhi fajue jianbao 敦煌馬圈灣漢代烽燧遺址發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* (1981.10), 1-7.

civilized nation.¹²³ Placed within the toiletry case, these items, which were once reflective of high social status, were gradually valued more as a means to it.

Like combs, hairpins found in Warring States through Han toiletry cases were finely crafted yet not exquisitely ornamental [C:26b, 27b, 38a, 44e].¹²⁴ Differing types of hairpins have been identified: the *ji* 笄, or *zan* 簪,¹²⁵ is a single pin that may or may not be ornamented at one end; the *chai* 釵 has two prongs; and the *zhi* 櫛 hairpin is essentially an elongated comb. No later than the Spring and Autumn period of the Zhou dynasty, the hairpin was incorporated into established systems of dress for both men and women as signifiers of adulthood. As recorded in the *Li ji*, young women, when they reached fifteen years of age, began to fasten their hair in a bun with a special *ji* hairpin, which symbolized her status as marriageable and capable of bearing children.¹²⁶ Similarly, young boys began to wear caps, or *guan* 冠, at the age of twenty to show that they, too, were ready for marriage and - perhaps more importantly – eligible for official or military positions and therefore useful to the state. Such an occasion also called for a hairpin, also called *ji*, for securing his cap.¹²⁷ Hairpins also figured in meticulous codes for mourning attire, where they marked gender, marital status, and relationship to the deceased. Thus, acts of

¹²³ This is related in the Han history, the *Shiji* 110. (“Xiongnu 匈奴”). See Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II* (New York: Columbia University Press, [1961] 1993), 142.

¹²⁴ For a look at some examples of hairpins found in Han period tombs, see Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Bowuguan 2000, 209, fig. 153; Yangzhou Bowuguan, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Xian Yaozhuang 102 hao Han mu 江蘇邗江縣姚莊 102 號漢墓,” *Kaogu* (2000.4), 58, fig. 16; and Yantai Diqu Wenwu Guanli Zu and Laixi Xian Wenhua Guan, “Shandong Laixi Xian Daishu Xi Han mu guo mu 山東萊西縣岱墅西漢木槨墓,” *Wenwu* (1980.12), 10, fig. 9.

¹²⁵ *Ji* was used for this type of hairpin through the Warring States, after which it began to be replaced by the denotation, *zan*. See Gao 2001, 82. The *Shuowen Jiezi* entry for *ji* reads: “*Ji* is the same as *zan* 笄, 簪也.” See *Shuowen jiezi*, vol. 57, 5a1b (“Zhu Bu”). Modern archaeological reports use the terms interchangeably.

¹²⁶ *Liji zhengyi* 2.64 (“Quli shang 曲禮上”).

¹²⁷ According to Wu Aiqin, caps were often small and fit just over the bun of hair, and so a hairpin was necessary to secure the cap at both ends. See Wu Aiqin 吳愛琴, “Shuo ji 說笄,” *Shixue yuekan* 2007.1: 134-36, 134. In fact, the *Shiming* dictionary defines *ji* as “for fastening; it is that which fastens the *guan* cap, and it is employed so that [the cap] does not fall 笄係也所以係冠使不墜也.” See *Shiming*, 34b (“Shishoushi”). Such hairpins were necessarily longer, measuring ~25-35 cm, and secured horizontally underneath the cap, and so were often called *hengji* 橫笄, or “horizontal hairpins.” Women, incidentally, also used horizontal hairpins for securing their wigs. See Wu 2007, 134.

binding the hair with a hairpin or changing the hairpin types were an important means by which both women and men marked different phases or momentous events of the life cycle.

Still, both archaeological and pictorial evidence demonstrate that hairpins were arranged and, at times, amassed within the hair in a decorative manner. In death, three *zhi* hairpins secured the chignon of Lady Dai. Towards the end of the Han, both *chai* and *zhi* hairpins radiated outward as elaborate headdresses, as is delineated in a stone carving from Mixian and a painted platter discovered in Zhu Ran's tomb at Ma'anshan (Anhui). A cluster of *chai* hairpins found in situ in a burial at Lelang 樂浪 Commandary (North Korea) lends further archaeological corroboration to these images.¹²⁸

Were such hairpin assemblages actually worn in life? Long and thick hair was also a social ideal, and women in particular often flaunted their ample hair through complex hairstyles. Such was the case for Empress Ma Huang 馬皇后 of the Eastern Han, who wore her hair in four tall chignons, with tresses still remaining that she could coil three times.¹²⁹ Women with billowing hairstyles often appear in poems of the *Shijing*, and in one instance, there is early reference to the use of hair extensions: "Hair thick like clouds, no need for false locks."¹³⁰ In at least thirteen Eastern Han burials at Baoxing County 寶興縣 (Sichuan) were found small bronze and iron pins in the shape of the character, *ji* 丌, that were probably used as a kind of frame upon which women mounted and secured their tall chignons.¹³¹

¹²⁸ See Harada and Tazawa 1930, Plate 118.1.

¹²⁹ "美髮為四起大髻成尚有餘繞髻三匝." As recorded in the *Dongguan Han Ji* 東觀漢記 (1st-2nd c. CE) See *Dongguan Han Ji*, by Liu Zhen (d. after 126), *Sibubeiyao* 四部備要 (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 6.1a ("Mingde Ma Huang Hou 明德馬皇后"); see also Peng 1998, 106.

¹³⁰ "鬢髮如云、不屑髻也," from the poem, "Junzi Xielao 君子偕老" ("Airs of Yong 鄘風"), in *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義, *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 4, ed. Li Xueqin (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2000), 220.

¹³¹ For a brief report of these tombs, see Sichuan Sheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui and Baoxing Xian Wenhua Guan, "Sichuan Baoxing Longdong Dong Han mu qun 四川寶興龍東東漢墓群," *Wenwu* (1987.10), 34-53.

In addition, hair extensions have been found in upper class male and female tombs of the Warring States,¹³² and were also among the contents of the toiletry cases of Lady Dai and her son at Mawangdui [C:26a; C:27a].¹³³ The coil of hair found in Lady Dai's case was determined to be genuine human hair. Moreover, she was also found wearing an additional set of hair extensions in death, also genuine, but not of her own blood type.¹³⁴ A passage from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 describes how the Marquis of Wei procured a set of human hair extensions: “While Gong was out of the city, he saw the beautiful hair of another man's wife, and had someone shave it off [to be made into] wig for his wife, Lü.”¹³⁵ Hayashi Minao believes that in some cases, these extensions were made from the hair cut from the heads of convicts and slaves.¹³⁶ His hypothesis is supported by a stone carving from an Eastern Han tomb, in which

¹³² Examples include tomb no. 2 at Jiuliandun (Hubei), which belonged to the wife of a senior official, and the tomb of Shao Tuo at Baoshan (Hubei). Shao Tuo's tomb contained both human and faux hair. The human hair had deteriorated upon excavation, but the faux hair was found preserved in square bamboo case along with small carvings of animals, jade and bone objects, and some prickly ash. It consisted of a grouping of twenty-five individual bundles of faux hair (each about 25 cm long) that were woven together at one end with silk thread and reinforced by lacquer. See Hubei Sheng Jingsha Tielu Kaogu Dui 1991, 88, 261.

¹³³ Texts indicate that men also used hair extensions. *Liji*'s chapter, “Rules of Propriety,” includes one bit of advice for men: “Have your hair gathered up, and do not use any false hair 斂發毋髻，冠毋免。” *Liji Zhengyi*, vol. 12, 2.56 (“Quli Shang 曲禮上”). See also Ou Yangjun 歐陽軍, “Jiafa shuoyuan 假髮溯源,” *Fandian Xiandaihua* (2000.4), 16. Men were clearly concerned with loss of hair. According to Peng Wei, the *Shennong Bencao Jing* 神農本草經 (Shennong's [2nd c. BCE?] Classic of Materia Medica, a text that can be designated with certainty only in the histories of the Sui Dynasty [589-618]) includes two prescriptions for “doing away with” and “managing” baldness: a material called, *shi liu huang* 石流黃 can “do away with baldness 除頭禿”; something called *yang ti* 羊蹄 is able to “manage baldness. 主頭禿.” See Peng 1998: 112.

¹³⁴ Tests determined that Lady Dai's blood type was A, but her hair extensions (both attached in her hair and bundled up in her toiletry case) were of blood type B. See Changsha Mawangdui Yi Hao Mu Gu Shi Yanjiu Bianji Weiyuanhui and Hunan Yixueyuan, eds., *Changsha Mawangdui Yi Hao Mu Gu Shi Yanjiu* 長沙馬王堆一號墓古尸研究 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1980), 62. Moreover, a close look at the corpse of Lady Dai on display in the Hunan Provincial Museum allows one to see that the hair on top of her head is clearly darker than that at the sides.

¹³⁵ *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 59.1957 (“Ai Gong Shiqi Nian 哀公十七年”). For an English translation, see James Legge, trans., *Chinese Classics: The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuan*, Vol. V (Hong Kong: James Legge; London: Trübner, 1861-72), 850-51.

¹³⁶ Hayashi 1976.

imposing figures with knives chop off the tousled hair of slaves while elite men, seated on the sides, witness the spectacle over a cup of wine.¹³⁷

Hair that had a lustrous shine was also worth noting, as in the line from a Han period poem by the literary figure and scientist, Zhang Heng 張衡: “With jet-black hair done up in a chignon, so shining that it could serve as a mirror.”¹³⁸ An oily substance found in the small round and rectangular boxes in the toiletry case of Lady Dai at Mawangdui may have been used as a kind of pomade. In the bamboo inventories for her son’s tomb, two of the smaller boxes of the toiletry case were intended to hold *langao* 蘭膏, or orchid oil.¹³⁹ If this was used for the hair, its name indicates that it may have been floral-scented, in which case we must reconsider the degree to which fragrances were gendered. More certainly, a ball of wax with embedded hairs was found in a toiletry case from the Eastern Han tomb of Wang Xu and his wives [D:17c].¹⁴⁰ One verse from a poem of the *Shijing*, in which a woman yearns for an absent lover, indicates that even during the Zhou period, greasy substances were used as a finishing touch:

Since Bo went to the east
My head has been tousled as the tumbleweed.
It is not that I lack the grease to dress it with;
But for whom should I want to look nice?¹⁴¹

Men may have used pomades to add sheen to their facial hair, which was considered prevalent marker of male beauty. According to the *Shiming* dictionary, “a mustache is a part of one’s

¹³⁷ For a brief report of this tomb, see Zhucheng Xian Bowuguan 諸城縣博物館 and Ren Rixin 任日新, “Shandong Zhucheng Han mu huaxiangshi 山東諸城漢墓畫像石,” *Wenwu* (1981.10), 14-21.

¹³⁸ Translation in Robert Van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China*. (Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1961), 76-77.

¹³⁹ As is sometimes the case, reality did not corroborate the written word: one of these small boxes was found empty (the substance may have disintegrated), and the other contained a dark, saucy substance that excavators believed to be a lead-based cosmetic. Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, 148-49.

¹⁴⁰ Harada Yoshito 原田淑人 and Tazawa Kingo 田沢金吾, *Rakurō* 楽浪 (Tokyō: Tōkōshoin, 1930), 37.

¹⁴¹ “自伯之東，首如飛蓬；豈無膏沐，誰適為容，” from the poem, “Bo Xi 伯兮” (“Airs of Wei 衛風”), *Maoshi Zhengyi*, vol. 4, 286. Translation from Arthur Waley, trans., *The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry* (New York, Grove Press, 1996), 53.

appearance that makes him beautiful.”¹⁴² Moreover, facial hair, particularly the beard, was a masculine emblem of strength, vitality, and honor. Both Han dynasty founder, Emperor Gaozu 高祖 and the eminent General Huo Guang 霍光 were described as having beautiful beards and whiskers.¹⁴³ At a critical moment during his downfall, Wang Mang, ruler of the short Xin period interregnum, dyed his hoary hair and beard black in an effort to appear strong and perseverant.¹⁴⁴ When the Eastern Han period’s Wen Xu 溫序 fell into the hands of his enemies, their good-willed commander offered him a sword so that he could die an honorable death. In a fit of rage, Wen Xu took the sword, “clenched his whiskers between his teeth, and, looking at those surrounding him, declared: ‘Now that I am cornered to death by rascals, I shouldn’t soil my beard and whiskers.’ He [thereupon] threw himself on the sword and died.”¹⁴⁵

General Huo Guang was also described as having “uncluttered eyebrows,”¹⁴⁶ which may have been tidied with the help of tweezers. References to moth-like (*e mei* 蛾眉), curved (*qu mei* 曲眉) and straight (*zhimei* 直眉) eyebrows are found in the poem, “Da Zhao” of the *Chuci*.¹⁴⁷ Elsewhere in this poem, women are characterized as *fenbai daihei* 粉白黛黑, or “powdered white with blackened eyebrows.” In the *Shiming* dictionary, *dai* 黛 is defined as a substitute; the lexicographer further explains, “first remove the eyebrows and then paint substitute brows in

¹⁴² 髭, 姿也。為姿容之美也。 *Shiming*, 14a (“Shixingti 釋形體”).

¹⁴³ For a reference to Emperor Gaozu’s whiskers, see *Shiji* 史記, by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), 8.2a (“Han Gaozu 漢高祖”); for those of Huo Guang, see *Hanshu*, by Ban Gu (32-92) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962), 68.2933 (“Huo Guang Liezhuan 霍光列傳”).

¹⁴⁴ *Hanshu* 69.4180 (“Wang Mang Liezhuan 王莽列傳”).

¹⁴⁵ *Hou Hanshu* 81.2673 (“Du Xing Liezhuan 獨行列傳”); translation from Eugene Wang, “Mirror, Death, and Rhetoric: Reading Later Han Chinese Bronze Artifacts,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (Sept. 1994), 532-33.

¹⁴⁶ *Hanshu* 68.2933 (“Huo Guang Liezhuan”).

¹⁴⁷ “Da Zhao,” *Chuci*; translation from Hawkes 1985, 235-36. This phrase is also found in the *Shijing* poem, “Shuo Ren 碩人,” (“The Airs of Wei 衛風”), *Maoshi Zhengyi*, vol. 4, 263.

their place.”¹⁴⁸ Eyebrow pens have been found in a toiletry case from tomb no. 23 at Jinning, Shizhaishan 晉寧石寨山 (Yunnan).¹⁴⁹ Curiously, inkstones are also often associated with toiletry cases [C:51, 79a].¹⁵⁰ In tomb no. 2 at Hanjiang, Ganquan 邗江甘泉 (Jiangsu), an occupant of perhaps royal status was buried with a double-leveled, square toiletry case, the contents of which included an inkstone, pens and brushes [C:50].¹⁵¹ While undoubtedly scholars’ tools, one wonders if these items may have also been employed in beautification regimes. Eyebrow trends of the Han included the broad eyebrow, or *guang mei* 广眉, and the “distant mountain brow,” *yuanshan mei* 远山眉, in which two very subtle lines were drawn to evoke far away mountains.¹⁵² Indeed, alongside the names given to hairstyles, including *shenxian ji* 神仙髻, or “immortal bun” and *chuiyun ji* 垂雲髻, meaning “falling cloud bun,” it is evident that women of the Han were attempting to evoke otherworldly imagery through their stylized appearances.¹⁵³ In addition, we read that during the reign of Emperor Wudi of the Western Han, women painted their eyebrows in the *bazi mei* 八字眉 form, imitating the character for the number eight, *ba* 八.¹⁵⁴ Like the character, the inside ends of each brow curled slightly upward.

¹⁴⁸ “黛，代也，灭眉毛去之，以此画代其处也。” *Shiming* 36a, (“Shishoushi”).

¹⁴⁹ Li Jiarui 李家瑞, “Yunnan Jin’ning Shizhaishan gu mu chutu qi qi fuyuan 雲南晉寧石寨山古墓出土漆器復原,” *Wenwu* (1964.12), 50-51, 64.

¹⁵⁰ One was found in the vicinity of a toiletry case at Yizheng Xupu (Jiangsu) and within the inner coffin of the royal prince at Dingxian (Hebei). See Yangzhou Bowuguan, eds. 1987. “Jiangsu Yizheng Xupu 101 hao Xi Han mu 江蘇儀征胥浦 101 號西漢墓.” *Wenwu* (1987.1): 1-19; Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo, eds., “Hebei Ding Xian 40 hao Han mu fajue jianbao, 河北定縣 40 號漢墓發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* (1981.8), 1-12.

¹⁵¹ Nanjing Bowuyuan, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Ganquan er hao Han mu 江蘇邗江甘泉二號漢墓,” *Wenwu* (1981.11), 1-11.

¹⁵² Wu Lingyun 2005, 38.

¹⁵³ Li Xiulian 李秀蓮, *Zhongguo Huazhuang Shi Gaishuo* 中國化妝史概說 (Beijing: Zhongguo Fangzhi Chubanshe, 2000), 22.

¹⁵⁴ Gao 2001, 365.

Interestingly, a male tomb figurine from Western Han tomb no. 1 at Dafentou appears to exhibit this very style.¹⁵⁵

The hair and eyebrows served as a frame for the face, where white skin, clear of imperfections was valued. Both white and red cosmetic powders have been found in burials of the Warring States, but were more commonly placed in tombs into the Han period [C:26a, 44c, 50, 73c, 74, 76a, 77, and 80]. In the above-mentioned poem, “Da Zhao” of the *Chuci* we read of women, “powdered white with blackened eyebrows,” a phrase that is one of the earliest indications in literature that women used powders.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, the *Zhan’guo Ce*’s “Book of Chu” mentions the women of Zheng and Zhou, “whose skin is so white and brows so black (*fen bai mo hei*粉白墨黑).”¹⁵⁷ The *Shiming* indicates that *fen* 粉, or powders, were pounded from rice, after which oils were added to make them spreadable.¹⁵⁸ Though rice was used for cosmetics during the Han and especially later, archaeology indicates that cosmetic powders of the Han contained amounts of lead-carbonate.¹⁵⁹ Other than devising different ways of making powders later, there are no indications, as can be found in Roman literature, that lead-based powders were damaging to the skin.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ See Hubei Sheng Bowuguan, eds., “Yunmeng Dafentou yi hao Han mu 雲夢大墳頭一號漢墓,” *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* (1981.4), 1-28.

¹⁵⁶ “Da Zhao,” *Chuci*; translation in Hawkes 1985, 236.

¹⁵⁷ *Zhan’guo Ce* 戰國策, comp. Liu Xiang (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1922), 16a (“Chu Ce: San 楚策三”); translation in J.I Crump, trans., *Zhan’guo Ce* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1996), 239-40.

¹⁵⁸ *Shiming* 36a (“Shishoushi”).

¹⁵⁹ This has been determined, for example, in the powders found in cosmetic boxes at Lelang. See Harada and Tazawa 1930, 125. For a brief discussion of the chemical content of early cosmetic powders, see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 16-17 and 125-26, and Edward H. Schafer, “The Early History of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China,” *T’oung Pao*, Vol. 44 (1956), 413-38.

¹⁶⁰ References from Ovid detail the adverse effects of iron-based powders on the skin of Roman women. See Antonio d’Ambrosio, *Women and Beauty in Pompeii* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001).

Some powders were probably infused with fragrances, as is indicated in the “Da Zhao”:
“whose powder and eyebrow black give off a rich perfume.”¹⁶¹ Texts also indicate that powders were not used exclusively on the face. Favored concubine Tao Wangqing was caught powdering her shoulders and bosom in front of the court painter, after which jealous rivals ensured her gruesome death.¹⁶²

Though it was stated above that the ideals of beauty for both women and men included flawless, white skin, the way such powders were used to enact gender could also be very different. There are no references in early literature to men spreading powders to construct a particularly masculine appearance, but there is a passage that implies that feminized men applied powders in a manner similar to women. These were the Male Favorites at court, and have been described by Sima Qian in the *Shiji*:

When the Han arose, Emperor Gaozu, for all his coarseness and blunt manners, was won by the charms of a young boy named Ji, and Emperor Hui had a boy favorite named Hong. Neither Ji nor Hong had any particular talent or ability; both won prominence simply by their looks and graces. Day and night they were by the ruler’s side, and all the high ministers were obliged to apply to them when they wished to speak to the emperor. As a result all the palace attendants at the court took to wearing caps with gaudy feathers and sashes of seashells and to painting their faces, transforming themselves into a veritable host of Jis and Hong.¹⁶³

Thus, we are provided with a very specific instance where the heterosexual norms of the gendered dichotomy that Butler dismisses are challenged through the use of powders. Indeed, as Peng Wei has pointed out, these powdered males generated the same type of jealousy at court as did other favored concubines.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Hawkes 1985, 236.

¹⁶² *Hanshu* 53. (“Guang Chuan Hui Wang Liu Yue 廣川惠王劉越”).

¹⁶³ *Shiji* 125.1a (“Ning Xing 佞幸”); translation in Watson [1961] 1993, 419.

¹⁶⁴ Peng 1998, 112.

Bronze-handled brushes found in many toiletry cases may have been used to spread these powders (for example, [C:42; 50; 61a; 69; 76a,b]). It has been suggested that these brushes were used to clean wooden combs¹⁶⁵, but evidence points more strongly to their use in applying cosmetics. For instance, traces of red powder were found on a brush from the toiletry case of Lady Dai at Mawangdui. In addition, many examples have a terminal in the form of a dragon's head with a spoon-shaped protruding tongue, a form highly suited to scooping and perhaps applying powders. Also used in applying powders were silk powder puffs (*cha fenshi* 搽粉飾), which have been found in both the cases of Shao Tuo at Baoshan and Lady Dai at Mawangdui.

As suggested by Lin Qiaoling, ring-headed knives (*xue* 削) found in toiletry cases may have likewise been employed to spread cosmetics or smooth over facial imperfections, not unlike spatulas found from ancient Roman sites.¹⁶⁶ In an early toiletry case from tomb no. 2 at Tianxingguan, examples with ringed heads of jade have been found [A:1]. It appears that such knives were worn at the belt as status symbols, as can be observed on the terra cotta figures from the tomb of the First Emperor of Qin, and on a later pottery figurine of an upper class woman from the Sichuan region.¹⁶⁷ In the case of the former, such knives were probably scholars' book knives (*shudao* 書刀), which were used to shave off miswritten characters on wooden or bamboo slips.¹⁶⁸ While the purposes of the curved knives in the toiletry case remain unclear, it is probable that they were not limited to a single use. Tsuen-Hsuei Tsien has noted that these

¹⁶⁵ For example, see Nanjing Bowuyuan, eds., "Jiangsu Lianyungang Shi Haizhou Wangtuanzhaung Han mu guomo 江蘇連雲港市海州岡壩庄漢木槨墓," *Kaogu* (1963.6), 289.

¹⁶⁶ For images of spatula and other tools for beautification found among the ruins of ancient Pompeii, see D' Ambrosio 2001, 25, figs. 5-6.

¹⁶⁷ For a line drawing of a pottery figure of a woman with a ring-headed knife hanging from her belt, see Gao 2001, fig. 1409.

¹⁶⁸ For a study of these knives as scholars' tools, see Tsuen-hsuei Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions*, Second Edition (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 175-198.

knives were often used for multiple tasks, from erasing written characters, to cutting fruit and wooden instruments.¹⁶⁹

A final item of the toiletry cases to be discussed here is the bronze mirror. Early examples worn by Fu Hao and her contemporaries were displayed on the body and used to express membership or affiliations with groups along the frontier. That they were used for practical purposes and/or were invested with apotropaic meaning cannot be determined definitively. Mirrors have continued to surface in Western Zhou and Spring and Autumn period burial contexts far north of the Yellow River, but such finds are still rather isolated and the quality of bronze and decorative motifs do not parallel products from Central China. It was not until the late Spring and Autumn or early Warring States period that mirror molds appeared in China proper, and designs on the decorative surfaces bear the stylistic marks of the Chinese craftsman.¹⁷⁰ Bronze mirrors have been found in burials from most regions of the late Warring States period¹⁷¹, and were particularly popular in southern areas occupied by the Chu State. As noted by Alain Thote, the placement of mirrors in or next to toiletry cases and combs in Chu burials beginning in the 4th c. BCE is indicative of their pronounced practical function.¹⁷² In fact, as mentioned in Chapter One, the *Shuowen* dictionary defines the toiletry case (*lian*) as a mirror box.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 195.

¹⁷⁰ These were found among objects of the foundries at Houma (Shanxi). See O'Donoghue 1990, 50.

¹⁷¹ Chen Peifen, "Early Chinese Bronze Mirrors," *Orientalia* (March 1997), 88-93.

¹⁷² Alain Thote, "Continuities and Discontinuities: Chu Burials during the Eastern Zhou Period," in *Exploring China's Past: New Discoveries and Studies in Archaeology and Art*, Roderick Whitfield and Wang Tao (trans. And eds.), International Series in Chinese Art and Archaeology, No. 1 (London: Saffron, 1999), 189-204.

¹⁷³ See note 4.

Still, mirrors appear to have maintained their decorative function, as noted in a passage from the *Zuo zhuan*, which refers to “A queen’s large girdle with a mirror in it.”¹⁷⁴ In fact, some of the sophisticated technologies employed to produce bronze ritual vessels of the Shang and Zhou periods were directed at mirrors as they gained popularity into the Warring States and Han. The range of decorative schemes on bronze mirrors makes classification particularly challenging, and even as more were produced, designs were more prone to “incessant permutation” rather than any form of standardization.¹⁷⁵ Into the Han period—if not earlier—bronze mirrors began to bear auspicious imagery, including a design that replicated the divinatory gaming board for *liubo* 六博, animals of the cardinal directions, and the Queen Mother of the West and other divinities or immortals. Combined with their ability to generate and reflect light, this imagery reinforced the talismanic quality of mirrors. Thus, during the Western Han period, Emperor Xuan 宣 (r. 73-49 BCE) made a habit of wearing a prized mirror, and was believed to have evaded political troubles due to its power of averting evil influences.¹⁷⁶ Auspicious inscriptions, which began to appear during the middle Han period, articulated their symbolism, wishing bearers happiness, long life, and good fortune [C:43b].¹⁷⁷

In addition, mirrors not only reflected and enhanced one’s outer beauty, but in literature, came to be a medium through which one cultivated inner beauty and wisdom. Various forms of

¹⁷⁴ *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 9.303 (“Zhuang Gong Ershiyi nian 莊公二十一年”); translation from Legge 1861-72, 101.

¹⁷⁵ Wu Hung, “Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, ed., Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 694.

¹⁷⁶ Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, “Representation and Appropriation: Rethinking the TLV Mirror in Han China,” *Early China* 29 (2004), 204-05.

¹⁷⁷ Tseng 2004, 204-05. Much has been posited about the various significances of mirrors. See also; Kong Xiangxing 孔祥星 and Liu Yiman 劉一曼, *Zhongguo gudai tongjing* 中國古代銅鏡 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1984); Eugene Wang, “Mirror, Death, and Rhetoric: Reading Later Han Chinese Bronze Artifacts,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (Sept. 1994), 511-34; Kenneth Brashier, “Longevity like Metal and Stone: The role of the mirror in Han burials,” *T’oung Pao* LXXXI (1995), 201-29; Wu Hung 1998; and Schulten 2000.

the pictograph for mirror, *jian* 監, portray a human figure bent over a container filled with water.¹⁷⁸ According to Eugene Wang, “Thus the word ‘mirror’ (*jian*) from its very beginning involved both ‘reflection’ and the act of ‘looking into.’ It was seized upon as a moral trope.”¹⁷⁹ In an anecdote from the *Zhan’guo Ce* (1st c. BCE) entitled, “The Handsome Man,” a man named Zou 鄒, while gazing at himself in a mirror, worries to his wife that he is not as good-looking as Xu Gong of the north. She, along with his concubine assures him that his beauty surpasses that of Xu Gong. After seeing this man in person, another look in the mirror confirms Zou’s suspicions that those around him will say anything to maintain his favor. He is then praised by his king for his wisdom after comparing his wives to the sovereign’s doting officials.¹⁸⁰ Such ideas in large part can be attributed to Confucian rhetoric of the periods. An excerpt from poem by Cai Yong 蔡邕(132/3-192) entitled *Nü Jie* 女誡, or “Admonitions for Women,” reminds one that with each step of the process of beautification, one must ponder more deeply the extent of her inner beauty:

People all know to make up their face, but no one grooms her mind. ... To be sure, if one examines and inspects the act of wiping the face, then one thinks of the cleanliness of her mind; if the act of applying ointment, then one thinks of the harmony of her mind; if the act of adding powder, then one thinks of the freshness of her mind; if the act of pomading the hair, then one thinks of the obedience of her mind; if the act of using a comb, then one thinks of the regulation of her mind; if the act of setting a topknot, then one thinks of the rectitude of her mind; if the act of arranging the earlocks, then one thinks of the orderliness of her mind.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Wang 1994, 511; Kong and Liu 1984, 9.

¹⁷⁹ Wang 1994, 511.

¹⁸⁰ *Zhan’guo Ce* 4b (“Qi Ce: Yi 齊策一 [Zou Qixiu Ba Chu You Yu 鄒忌修八尺有餘]”); translation in Crump 1996, 164-65. A similar story is found in the *Lushi Chunqiu*, only the main character, Liejing Zigao, examines his reflection in a well. See John Knoblock and Jeffrey Reigel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 329.

¹⁸¹ Translation from Mark Laurant Asselin, “‘A Significant Season’ Literature in a Time of Endings: Cai Yong and a Few Contemporaries,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1997), 514.

Interestingly, most of the contents of the toiletry case are utilized in this lesson about the cultivation of inner beauty. About a century later, Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300) adapted this poem into another, titled, *Admonitions of the Court Instructress* (*Nüshi zhentu* 女史箴圖), the verses of which were then provided illustrations in a 4th century painted handscroll attributed to Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (c. 345-406). In the part of the illustrated poem that begins with the first statement quoted above, women in billowing robes are shown seated before mirrors. One, with her back toward the viewer, appears to be making a final assessment of her appearance, while the other, with hands concealed within her voluminous sleeves, is gazing at herself in a mirror while having her hair combed by an attendant; a double-leveled toiletry case with multiple nestled boxes lays open before her. Though this poem is addressed to palace women and this particular scene features women in different stages of the beauty regime, Michael Nylan believes that the messages conveyed were aimed at both sexes.¹⁸² In her close readings of Confucian literature, lessons concerning an individual's character, conduct, and abilities of self-cultivation were often gender-neutral. Of interest to the present study is that practices of beautification were linked to the inner workings of the self. Cai Yong's correlation of these practices with terms such as harmony, regulation and orderliness indicates that management of the body, and more specifically, the face had much greater implications.

¹⁸² Michael Nylan, "Remarks of a Later Female Historian," in Shane McCausland, ed., *Gu Kaizhi and the* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), 122-124.

2.4 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

Toiletry sets found in Shang and Western Zhou burials, though rare, nevertheless indicate that collections of toiletry articles were possessed by individuals throughout the early dynastic periods. Their importance in death, however, is not evident until the end of the Zhou dynasty, or the middle to late Warring States period, when a standardized case for holding toiletry items and other personal possessions begins to appear in multiple burials in territories predominantly within the cultural spheres of Qin and Chu. The unification of the empire by the Qin enabled greater consolidation during the Han, when toiletry cases began to be placed in burials over a much wider territory, even stretching to the farthest reaches by the end of the dynasty. While the rest of this study will deal with their role and importance in mortuary contexts, this chapter has begun to consider the significances of such items in everyday life based on the growing corpus of material remains from the Warring States through the Han dynasties.

Formal qualities of toiletry cases and their contents suggest that these sets were treasured both for their function as items for management and enhancement of the face, hair, and even the body. It has been demonstrated that while similar sets of toiletry items have been found in both female and male burials, the ways in which they may be considered gendered are more complex than previously implied. These cases were also valued as artistic works in themselves, and notions of expert craftsmanship in toiletry sets were likely transferred to the body through personal possession, contact, and use. Indeed, these items were used in beautification and improvement of the appearance, and were *not* markers of intrinsic beauty. This notion is important when considering toiletry items, because possession and use of these tools, as well as knowledge of fluctuating trends and fashions (i.e., current ideals of appearance), granted an individual agency in the construction and reflection of an idealized appearance.

The social implications of an idealized appearance were even considered to be built-in to Han period parlance. Liu Xi's *Shiming* dictionary is a valuable source for understanding the meanings of words based upon a Han period world view. Liu defines words based upon puns with the theory that both phonology and semantics were interrelated and rooted in reality. Accordingly, he defines *zi* 姿 (appearance) as, *zi* 資 (property or wealth). He elaborates, “property/wealth is to be obtained. Natural endowments [of one’s] appearance are to be taken as capital.”¹⁸³ While such “natural endowments” were valued, it is possible that the enhancement of certain features through use of items in the toiletry case—for example, combs and oils for ensuring neat, clean, thick and lustrous hair; tweezers to sculpt the brows and pens and ink to define the eyes; and cosmetic powders for maintaining a bright, clear and porcelain complexion—aided in the creation of an idealized appearance. Han Fei 韓非 (d. 223 BCE) recognized this possibility as an analogy for strengthening the government’s moral values:

“...speaking highly of the beauty of Mao Qiang and Xi Shi will be of no help toward my own appearance, but if I can apply rouge and cosmetic powders to my face, then I can surely make my original appearance twice as beautiful. Speaking of the benevolence of the Former Kings will not in the least help in regard to the [current] government. To strictly enforce a country's moral standard and with determined efforts carry out its system of rewards and punishments is like giving the country a cosmetic make-over.”¹⁸⁴

In other words, a well-ordered state and beautiful appearance are both ideals that can be achieved and maintained through actions that are deliberate and continuous.

To be sure, one’s physical appearance was indeed a social asset. Literature of the Han abounds with references and anecdotes which demonstrate that the shape and size of the body,

¹⁸³姿,資也。資取也。形貌之稟取為資本也。 *Shiming*, 17a (“Shizirong 釋姿容”).

¹⁸⁴ “故善毛鬣、西施之美，無益吾面；用脂澤粉黛，則倍其初。言先王之仁義，無益於治；明吾法度，必吾賞罰者，亦國之脂澤粉黛也。” *Han Feizi* 韓非子, by Han Fei 韓非 (d. 233 BCE) (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua Shuju, 1965), 19.12a. (“Xian Xue 顯學”).

clarity of complexion, and other favorable facial features strengthened an individual's chances of achieving upward social mobility.¹⁸⁵ For example, men with marks or scars on their faces, or those below a certain height, could not attain political positions.¹⁸⁶ In the *Yantielun* 鹽鐵論, or *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, the Lord Grand Secretary laments the ambitions of poor and weak (*pin lei* 貧羸) scholars who considered themselves suitable advisers of the state.¹⁸⁷

Once secured within the high-ranking tier of society, class distinctions and biases were solidified. Indeed, contemporary texts indicate that beauty was claimed as the provenance of the elite. The *Discourse on Gambling* 博徒論 records a conversation between an Eastern Han man named Cui Yin and a farmer. The farmer is described as one whose “face is black, hands and feet have calluses, skin is like mulberry [bark?], and feet like those of a bear,” “his limbs are like burnt wood, and skin like leather.” Cui Yin wonders aloud, “you are a person, but you look like a beast.”¹⁸⁸ In another instance, a man named Wang Bao ridicules the unkempt mustaches of slaves, likening them to dying embers and describing them as inferior to the tail of a dog.¹⁸⁹ Lower class women of the countryside were also mocked for their gaudy imitations of

¹⁸⁵ For example, Che Qianqiu, who was of a modest background and without skill or ability, was for no reason other than stalwart frame and good skin made the assistant of Western Han Emperor Wu. See *Hanshu* 66.2884 (“Che Qianqiu 車千秋”). Also, Prime Minister Chen Ping’s good looks enabled him to obtain official posts. It was said of him: “Anyone as good-looking as Chen Ping will never stay poor and despised for long 人固有美如陳平而長貧賤者乎.” See *Shiji* 56.1b (“Chen Chengxiang 陳丞相”); translation in Watson [1961] 1993, 116. In addition, women entered the imperial palace based largely on their appearances. Zhao Feiyan, who came from a humble background, was quickly elevated to the title of Beautiful Companion after Emperor Cheng glimpsed her lithesome body and face, with skin the color of jade. Peng 1998: 106. Though Zhao Feiyan was discovered by the emperor himself on a tour of inspection, we know from the *Hou Hanshu* that officials utilized the empire’s annual census records, which included listings of physical features and measurements, for finding female candidates to fill the imperial harem. See Cordula Gumbrecht, “Die Physiognomie von Vier Kaiserinnen im China der Späten Han-Zeit (25-220),” *Monumenta Serica* 50 (2002), 171-214. See also T’ung-tsu Ch’ü (ed. Jack L. Dull), *Han Social Structure* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1972), 296-97, 306-07.

¹⁸⁶ See Peng 1998, 107-12.

¹⁸⁷ *Yantielun* 鹽鐵論, by Huan Kuan 桓寬 (1st c. BCE) (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1936), 32 (“Di Guang 地廣”).

¹⁸⁸ Peng 1998: 117.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 112.

cosmopolitan fashion—pushing what were considered ideals of appearance beyond the bounds of what was proper--as in this capital jingle from the Western Han period:

In the city she likes a tall coiffure—
The country girl goes one foot high!
In the city she likes long eyebrows—
The country girl goes half across her forehead!
In the city she likes wide sleeves—
The country girl goes the whole bolt!¹⁹⁰

Moreover, as described in the discussion on hair extensions above, the elite often exploited those of lesser privilege for the best sources of beautification. Indeed, mutilation of any part of the body, including cutting the hair, was severely shameful to an individual and his or her family, as the hair was considered as a gift from one's parents.¹⁹¹ Physical wholeness of body was and still is of utmost importance to the Chinese.

As noted in the discussion on mirrors, maintenance and beautification of the body and face could be directed inward and linked to practices of mental and moral cultivation. In addition, textual evidence demonstrates that maintenance of the body and appearance were often aligned with larger rhythms of natural order. For example, day books (*rishu* 日書) found in Qin period tombs record auspicious days for washing the head.¹⁹² Bamboo slips found in a tomb at

¹⁹⁰ “城中好高髻，四方高一尺；城中好廣眉，四方且半額；城中好廣袖，四方用匹帛司！” *Dongguan Han Ji* 12.3a-b; translation of this poem from Birrell 1982, 44.

¹⁹¹ The Confucian classic, the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of Filial Piety), states: “Seeing that our body, with hair and skin, is derived from our parents, we should not allow it to be injured in any way. This is the beginning of filiality 身體髮膚，受之父母。不敢毀傷，孝之始也。” *Xiaojing zhushu* 孝經注疏, Shisanjing zhushu, ed. Li Xueqin, (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2000), 1.4. Translation from Mary Lelia Makra, *The Hsiao Ching*, ed., Paul K. T. Sih (New York: St. John's University Press, 1961), 3.

¹⁹² As explained by Wang Chong, “In writings on baths we are informed that if anybody washes his head on a *tzu* 子 day, his appearance is enhanced, whereas if he does so on a *mao* 卯 day, his hair turns white.” Poo Muzhou, *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 143.

Zhangjiashan 張家山 dictate to what degree one should brush his teeth, wash his face, scrub his hair, and clean his body, all based on the fluctuating seasons.¹⁹³

In his most recent book, *The Construction of Space in Early China*, Mark Edward Lewis outlines how the early Chinese conceptualized their world in terms of incremental spatial units.¹⁹⁴ In relationships of parts to whole, the most fundamental unit of spatial order was the human body, followed by the household, city, region, and finally, the world. His use of the term “construction” underscores the nature of these units as “produced and modified through effort,” with continued action as a crucial element in the maintenance of order. Bodies particularly maintained larger spheres of order through ritualized behavior, in which social relations were enacted and hierarchies confirmed. Moreover, the body itself was theorized in medical literature as a conglomeration of vital organs and energies that sustained the whole, and further conceptualized as a metaphor for larger units, such as the state, or cosmic order. Lewis also discusses interfaces of the body, such as the skin and the hair, as reflectors of the condition of the whole. Returning to the parlance of the period in light of these ideas, a second dimension to the definition of appearance in the *Shiming* dictionary is found in the character, *rong* 容: *rong* (appearance) is *yong* 用 (used/put into practice); the entry elaborates, “used in harmonizing affairs.”¹⁹⁵

It comes as no surprise then that details of dress, hair, and makeup that transgressed the boundaries of social norms were seized upon as a sign of disorder. The *Fengsu Tongyi* 風俗通

¹⁹³ See Zhangjiashan Han Jian Zhengli Zu, “Zhangjiashan Han Jian “Yinshu” Shiwen 張家山漢簡<引書>釋文” *Wenwu* (1990.10), 82-86; and Peng Wei, *Zhongguo Fengsu Tongshi: Qin Han juan* 中國風俗通史: 秦漢卷 (Shanghai: Shanghai Wen Yi Chubanshe, 2004), 369-70.

¹⁹⁴ Mark Edward Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).

¹⁹⁵ 容, 用也。合事宜之用也。 *Shiming*, 17a (“Shizirong”).

義 (compiled in the second century) includes an anecdote about how fashion trends that seriously diverged from the social ideals discussed above were an omen of impending decline:

During the Yuanjia period of Huandi, fashionable women in the capital affected the "worried brow", the "weeping face," the "horsefall hairdo" the "broken waisted walk" and the "decayed tooth smile". The worried brows were drawn thin and crooked. The weeping face featured light smudges below the eye--as though crying. For the hairdo, mounded tilted hair to one side. The walk was done as though the feet could hardly support the body. The smile was a joyless one -- as though one's teeth ached. These affectations were introduced by Liang Ji's wife, Sun Shou, and of course, what was the rage of the capital, the whole country must needs imitate. The Heavenly Admonitions says; 'The armies will seize them, and the women will furrow their brows and weep; the blows of the lictors will cripple their backs and cause their hairdos to tumble down. Though they may try their best to talk and smile, their hearts will not be in it.' In the second year of Yanxi, Liang Ji's entire clan was executed.¹⁹⁶

When approached from this perspective, the use of toiletry items in life and death would have been essential in conveying and maintaining notions of bodily order, the visual product of which would have been recognized as reflective and generative of larger schemes of order. As we will see in Chapter Three, burials were constructed spaces filled with objects that were deemed necessary for maintaining the kind of order prevalent aboveground and maintained through ritual actions.

¹⁹⁶Translation from Kenneth J. DeWoskin and J.I. Crump, *In Search of the Supernatural: the written record* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 78-79. In another instance, men and women whose habits of dress were askew were the harbingers of widespread disorder. See "Long and Short Garments," in DeWoskin and Crump 1996, 80.

3.0 TOILETRY CASE SETS IN DEATH: RELATIONSHIPS TO THE CORPSE

While Chapter Two examined toiletry case sets and their significances in life, this chapter begins an exploration of how they continued to be meaningful in death. As noted in the previous chapter, the inclusion of toiletry case sets in burials is first evident in contexts of the Warring States period of the Zhou dynasty, and observably increases in both frequency and regional distribution in burials dating to the succeeding Qin and Han dynasties. Moreover, when first introduced into burials, these collections were placed in the outer encasement of the tomb along with most other goods; into the Qin and Han periods, however, in burials from many regions of the empire, toiletry cases were positioned within the inner coffins of deceased individuals.

If we consider these particular placements in terms of the processes involved in constructing the final burial tableau, then the contents of the inner coffin and those of the larger burial encasement represent acts performed during two distinct phases of the funerary ceremonies. In fact, as Guy Halsall has noted with reference to graves in early Merovingian Northern Gaul (sixth century), we must be mindful that the coffin and its contents may have been prepared and regarded at different locales and over varying lengths of time before being placed at the final resting point.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, specific placement of items in or outside of the coffin would have affected when and how they were viewed, the ability of certain audiences to see them, as

¹⁹⁷ Guy Halsall, "Graves, Texts and Time in Early Merovingian Northern Gaul," in *Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual*, ed. Jorg Jarnut and Metthias Wemhoff (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2003), 62-63.

well as the duration of their visibility. Because of these factors, each placement would have expressed different relationships to the corpse, and as will be demonstrated in the following pages, different layers of meaning associated with toiletry items would have been pronounced.

As previously outlined, my approach is guided by the work of Robert Hertz, who recognized death as a rupture in society, and the funerary rites as the means by which the living imposed their own sense of order and meaning on the transitions taking place. Through examination of these rites within specific cultural traditions, and in particular, the way that the corpse was treated in death, we can better understand the concerns of the mourners and culturally specific eschatologies. The first aim of this chapter is to describe, following ritual texts and archaeological evidence, the funerary rites in early China with particular focus on how the corpse was prepared and presented throughout.

In order to understand the role of toiletry sets, I follow Howard Williams, who has recognized the centrality of material culture to the efficacy of these rituals. According to Williams, the selection and use of items of material culture throughout mortuary rites served to characterize these transitions, visually marking events, as well as shaping the way that the dead were transformed into ancestors and remembered. The basic structure of underground mortuary contexts of the elite in early China, consisting of inner coffins and outer encasements (including those of wood, brick, and stone), remained the norm for the period under consideration in this study. Read against the ritual texts of the *Yi li* and the *Li ji*, which were compiled over these periods and have been utilized as a source for previous investigations of mortuary contexts, it can be stated that a general sequence of mortuary rituals in early China was well established and largely standardized from the Warring States through the Han dynasty. If we accept the process as consistent for the period under study, then variations in object placement may have

represented pivotal moments when changes in or development of eschatologies can be determined. Such changes as the location, décor and contents of toiletry cases will be noted and explained in the context of socio-political and/or ideological adjustments across the period.

3.1 HISTORICAL REVIEW

In broad historical terms, the Warring States period was a time of transition characterized by the dissolution of the Zhou royal house as the central authority and the rise of individual polities in competition for ever-widespread territorial hegemony. At the outset of the dynasty, the Zhou secured political allegiance throughout their expanded realm by installing governing bodies of their own kin to rule over newly conquered territories. The middle part of the dynasty saw these blood relations gradually overpowered by local rulers who rose to dominance by virtue of their military might and non-kin political bonds. As ambitions rose, territorial states grew administratively in order to maintain control over their populations, and a new body of civil servants emerged. Moreover, peasants and farmers were mobilized from the countryside as mass infantry divisions. The social spectrum expanded in scope as prospects for upward social mobility emerged in both administrative and military spheres. In addition, the needs of the state created new opportunities for growing classes of intellectuals, ritual specialists, artisans, merchants and land-owning commoners. It is against this backdrop of political and social reorganization that a gradual reorientation of burials from a focus on ancestors and the past to one aimed at deceased individuals and future living descendants can be understood.

In 221 BCE, the period of warfare and disunion that characterized the last centuries of Zhou dynastic rule had theoretically come to an end with the establishment of the Qin dynasty by

a man named Zheng, known as the First Emperor. Though only in power a mere fifteen years, the Qin is well-known for both its many accomplishments and atrocities. On the one hand, they are renowned for unifying the territorial states not simply through military might, but through the social and political changes that they instituted throughout the empire, including land and tax reforms that encouraged agricultural production; abolishment of the old feudal aristocracy, which allowed for social mobility based on merit; cultural unification through language; standardization of coins, weights and measures, which enabled smoother commercial transactions; and the development of industry through methods of mass production. On the other hand, the Qin government is infamous for its adoption of harsh labor statutes and punishments, destruction of regional histories and knowledge through the burning of books in 213 BCE, and severe taxation laws. The latter measures are among the reasons for their swift downfall, which was hastened further by a poor rulership after the death of the First Emperor.

When the Han succeeded in 206 BCE, they adopted and developed many of the institutions established by the Qin, including their law codes and social ranking systems, but modified some of their harsher aspects. Nearly the whole first century of Han rule was focused on diminishing lingering threats of territorial disunion and strengthening the central authority of the government. As the archaeological record demonstrates, while regionalism continued to influence visual and spiritual life, the Han period was also a time of widespread cultural unification and expansion. The first half of the Han was the more fruitful period for these advancements. Following a brief interregnum from 9-25 CE, during which a man outside of the royal lineage usurped the throne, the latter half of the period was characterized by a less extensive geographic control and a succession of incompetent rulers. Beginning in 184 CE,

continuous rebellions broke out throughout the empire, and finally, in 220 BCE the last emperor of the Han abdicated and disunion once again prevailed.

3.2 RITUAL TEXTS AS SOURCES

As discussed in the introduction, the two most informative sources on early mortuary ritual procedures are the *Yi li* (Etiquette and Rites), which is dedicated to customs that pertain to the ordinary officer, and the *Li ji* (Record of Rites), which includes graded protocol for the ordinary officer, great officer, and sovereign.¹⁹⁸ The *Yi li* includes several chapters that deal specifically with matters of death, including prescriptions on mourning attire (“Sang fu”), funerary rites (“Shisangli”), procedures on the evening before burial (“Jixili”), and post-burial rites (“Shiyuli”). The structure and layout the *Li ji* are less apparent. Though both ritual texts were compiled of sections written at different times during the Warring States through Han periods, the *Li ji* betrays its amalgamated nature through sections of notes that at times are contradictory and lack temporal order. Still, two sections of the *Li ji* offer information that is useful when considering the customs of mourning (“Tan Gong”) and the funerary rites (“Sang Da Ji”).

While these texts describe procedures to be carried out in death, they do not explain them. Moreover, as noted in the Introduction, they are idealized dictates, and do not account for regional or temporal variation. They will be used here in conjunction with archaeological evidence and secondary literature primarily for what they convey about the larger temporal and

¹⁹⁸ In this study, I utilize the Shisanjing Zhushu editions of these texts compiled by Li Xueqin 李學勤: *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義, *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, Vols. 12-15 (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2000); *Yili zhushu* 儀禮注疏, *Shisanjing zhushu* Vols. 10-11 (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2000).

spatial structure of the funerary rites, as well as attitudes toward death. For the most part, the information that I glean from these texts has been corroborated by archaeological evidence. I do, however, note instances where there are no existing parallels among the archaeological residue, and consequently consider such information solely as secondary evidence and for its potential to communicate perspectives or attitudes that may have affected the way that funerary rituals were carried out.

3.3 RITUALS OF COFFINING: PREPARING THE PHYSICAL BODY

Death rituals as described in the *Yi li* and the *Li ji* began at the household of the deceased, where the ceremony of soul-calling was performed and the body was washed, dressed, and coffined. An intervening period called the *bin* 殯, during which the coffined body lay in wait, was also staged at the household. At a later date, the coffin and accumulated burial goods were taken by procession to the lineage temple for display before the ancestors, and on the following day, transported to the gravesite for final interment.

Considering these events in temporal terms is not as straightforward as the given spatial sequence since, for example, the length of time between coffining and interment varied according to the status of the deceased.¹⁹⁹ As explained in the *Xunzi* 荀子, the size of the mourning community expected to arrive and participate in funerary events was dependent on rank: upon the death of the ruler, notification was sent across his entire political territory; for a

¹⁹⁹ For more on the length of time between death and burial, especially with reference to the Eastern Han period, see Miranda Brown, "Did the Early Chinese Preserve Corpses? A Reconsideration of Elite Conceptions of Death," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, 1-4 (2002), 210-12.

feudal lord, to allied states; for an official, throughout his district and to his friends, and so on.²⁰⁰

The text continues, “The period during which the dead lies in state in the coffin should not exceed seventy days, nor be less than fifty. Why? Because in this period of time those who must come from distant places will have time to arrive, all necessary articles can be procured, and all affairs attended to.”²⁰¹ Moreover, factors such as the site of the grave and date of interment were subject to divinatory regulation, as is evidenced by both divination manuals found in tombs that address such practices and critiques of Han period intellectuals, who wrote disapprovingly of coffins accumulating and polluting the living as they lay in wait for auspicious burial days.²⁰²

What *is* clear and uniform in the ritual texts, however, is that upon their arrival bearing condolences and mourning gifts, many of these guests would have confronted an already encoffined corpse. According to the *Li ji*, with the exception of the ruler, preparation of the body and coffining took place during the first two to three days after death was declared.²⁰³ In essence, for most of the funerary period, the physical body was concealed within the coffin. Such a hasty concealment, however, does not imply a lack of special attention to the corpse. In fact, the initial rites devoted to preparation of the body were crucial in enacting the change in perception of deceased individuals from living beings to their consignment among the dead. In what follows, based upon both archaeological evidence and texts, I will describe the funerary rites with particular attention to preparation and presentation of the corpse. From this perspective, the rites

²⁰⁰ Burton Watson, trans., *Hsun Tzu: Basic Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 98.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 99.

²⁰² One critique can be found in Wang Chong’s 王充 (d. 90 CE), *Lun Heng* 論衡, in which he writes (translation by Brown): “When the number of dead accumulate, the coffins to be buried reach the dozens, the living do not speak of the *qi* 氣 polluting them but speak instead of the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of the burial date.” See Brown 2002, 211.

²⁰³ Specifically, the *Li ji* states that for the ruler, coffining took place on the fifth day; for a great officer, the third; and for an ordinary officer, the second. *Liji zhengyi* 44.1456-58 (“Sangdaji”). The dictates of the *Yi li*, which focus on the rites for an ordinary officer, indicate that men of this rank were encoffined on the third day.

can be divided into two phases: the first was devoted to the body before it was coffined, and a second focused on the grave goods that were to accompany the corpse into death.

As in many parts of the world, burials dating from the Warring States through Han periods in China have often yielded only skeletal fragments, with perhaps some traces of the silks or hempen fabrics that once dressed the corpse. In some regions, however, conditions for preservation have been remarkably favorable, and bodies have been unearthed intact and still clothed in complete burial outfits. These contexts have enabled archaeologists to reconstruct partially ritual treatment of the body in death and examine material evidence against detailed procedures recorded in ritual texts.

The hermetically-sealed Warring States burial of a middle-ranking woman at Mashan (Hubei), and her Western Han dynasty counterpart at Mawangdui (Hunan), both in southcentral China, provide valuable contexts in which bodies can be literally unwrapped and analyzed for details of how bodies were prepared for burial.²⁰⁴ Likewise, the dry conditions of the northwest have yielded the relatively intact burials of middle-ranking officials and their wives at Wuwei 武威 (Gansu), datable to the Eastern Han.²⁰⁵ In each of these contexts, the dead were found swathed in layers of silks and bindings, and in some cases, special attention was given to bodily orifices. For instance, the woman at Mashan was first dressed in a pair of silk pantaloons and skirt, as well as a belted inner robe and an outer robe, and fitted with a pair of hempen shoes. Next, her right thumb and left middle finger were bound with red sashes attached to small bundles of silk; her big toes were similarly tied with a yellow sash. These red and yellow sashes were then tied together, effectively joining the fingers to the toes. Around her waist was an

²⁰⁴ See full reports for these tombs: Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Diqu Bowuguan 1985; Hunan Sheng Bowuguan 1973.

²⁰⁵ Gansu Sheng Bowuguan, "Wuwei Mozuizi san zuo Han mu fajue baogao 武威磨咀子三座漢墓發掘簡報," *Wenwu* (1972.12), 9-21.

additional yellow sash fastened with a slipknot, and from which hung a polychrome glass bead and tubular jade bead. Finally, her arms were secured in front of her body with a binding, and her face was covered with a special cut of silk with openings for the eyes and mouth.²⁰⁶ Moreover, on top of these dressings, she was then enveloped in thirteen more layers of garments and coverlets and bound with nine lateral ties.

Variations of these practices were in evidence at Mawangdui and Wuwei. The woman buried at Mawangdui, identifiable as Lady Dai, was found with a reddish-brown brocade covering her face and eyes and a piece of wadded silk in the form of a bow-tie set on the bridge of her nose. A bundle of silk was also secured in the space between her thighs. In her hands, she held two flower-brocaded satchels filled with fragrant grasses, and on her feet were shoes of silk with double pointed toes. Her arms and feet were bound in a similar manner to the woman at Mashan, and counting undergarments, robes, and further robes and coverlets, she was ultimately cocooned within a total of twenty layers of clothing and then secured with nine lateral bindings. Those at Wuwei were treated less elaborately. The male deceased in tomb no. 48 was found with a cover of yellow silk over his face, and outfit of silk pants, a short jacket and brocaded robe, as well as shoes and a hempen coverlet. The man buried in tomb no. 62 was dressed in three layers of garments and a belt fastened with a dragon-headed bronze hook. His face was also concealed in a series of head wraps, with the addition of a lacquered cap. Two silk bundles were found near his hands; he also wore leather sandals, and a jade cicada and lozenge-shaped ornament were found in his mouth.²⁰⁷

Though not identical, the attention given to these bodies in death can be read against procedures elaborated in ritual texts. Based on the account in the “Shisangli” chapter of the *Yi li*,

²⁰⁶ Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Diqu Bowuguan 1985, 16-18.

²⁰⁷ Gansu Sheng Bowuguan 1972, 11-12.

which describes in detail processes for the funerary rites of an ordinary officer (*shi* 士), preparation of the body can be divided into three phases: washing and initial dressing; a Lesser Dressing (*xiao lian* 小斂), during which the body was clothed in more garments; and finally, a Greater Dressing (*da lian* 大斂), which involved further wrappings and culminated in the coffining of the corpse. As noted by Joy Beckman, with each phase of these preparations, the “body disappears under layers of silk, gradually losing its human form.”²⁰⁸

The actors involved in these rites included ritual specialists, a designated Master of Ceremonies (the deceased’s eldest son)²⁰⁹, and various attendants. Death was not declared until a performance for calling back the soul was completed. This rite involved a summoner who ascended to the roof of the house of the dying person with one of his garments. Facing north and holding the garment, he called out the name of the person followed by “O, come back!” After three such attempts, he handed the garment to a person below, who placed it in a box and then took it inside the house to drape over the corpse, who had been positioned on a couch in a special room in the household called the *dishi* 适室, where individuals resided when taken ill or when fasting.²¹⁰ Next, a horned spoon was used to prop open the mouth of the deceased²¹¹; his feet were restrained by placing a small stool over them, and dried meats and wine were set before him.²¹² Death was then announced, and family members arrived bearing gifts.

The washing of the body was performed by low level attendants in the absence of the Master of Ceremonies and other family members. First the hair was washed and the body bathed,

²⁰⁸ Joy Beckman, “Layers of Being: Bodies, Objects, and Spaces in Warring States Burials,” two volumes (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2006), 67.

²⁰⁹ Yang 2004, 344.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 343.

²¹¹ This is done in preparation for a later act of placing cowrie shells and rice in the mouth. See Ibid., 344.

²¹² *Yili zhushu* 35.764 (“Shisangli”).

after which both were dried with selected wash cloths. The hair was then combed, gathered in a topknot, and secured with a special hairpin of mulberry wood. The finger and toe nails and beard were then trimmed by a servant as had been done in life. Finally, the horn spoon was removed and the Master of Ceremonies poured rice and cowrie shells into the mouth of the deceased. Items involved in these initial preparations, including the horn spoon, water for washing the body, wash cloths, and nail and hair clippings, were all deposited into a previously excavated hole near the western steps of house.²¹³ The deceased was then dressed by the ritual specialist, special covers were placed over bodily orifices, cloth bundles were positioned in the palms of the hands, and the limbs were bound.²¹⁴

Following the washing and initial dressing of the body were the Lesser and Greater Dressings, which took place on the second and third days after death, respectively.²¹⁵ Each involved a series of performances in which garments were displayed, carefully laid out, and finally, wrapped around the body. While the Lesser Dressing took place in the private, *dishi* room of the deceased, the Greater Dressing was held in the main hall of the household, or *tang* 堂, a significant progression in space that would culminate in the coffining, the final act of the Greater Dressing.²¹⁶ For this final dressing, the *Yi li* specifies that thirty garments were collected, including special ritual apparel (*jifu* 祭服) and garments gifted from mourners (*shusui* 庶綦),

²¹³ These items are actually thrown into the hole in two stages. First, after washing the body, only the water was deposited. See *Yili zhushu* 36.784 (“Shisangli”). Next, after the body was dressed, covered and bound, the rest of the items (wash cloths, spoon, hair and nail clippings) were buried. *Yili zhushu* 36.790 (“Shisangli”). In the *Li ji*, the clippings are treated differently: For the ruler and Great Officer (*daifu*), the nail clippings and hair are to be placed in bags and positioned at the four corners of the coffin; for the an ordinary officer, they are to be buried. See *Liji zhengyi* 45.1493 (“Sangdaji”).

²¹⁴ *Yili zhushu* 36.787-790 (“Shisangli”).

²¹⁵ Such was the procedure for an ordinary officer as recorded in the *Yi li*; as explained in n.9 above, in the *Li ji*, coffining of an ordinary officer was to take place on the second day after death.

²¹⁶ *Yili zhushu* 36.800 (“Shisangli”).

though not all were to be used in wrapping the body.²¹⁷ In a thoughtful analysis using material evidence from Warring States burials in the Chu cultural sphere, Joy Beckman has described how these garments were deployed as materializations of both the status of the deceased and social relationships between the living and the dead. She noted how garments were positioned and wrapped around the body in ways that called attention to intricate details, such as decorative trim and colored linings, sites where status was delineated and recognized.²¹⁸ As gifts from mourners, social relationships were ordered through the garment's proximity to the body and honored into death. These notions are supported by Han period contexts in present-day Jiangsu, where detailed inventories of gifted garments and fabrics (including their monetary value) have been found preserved on wooden tablets in the coffins of deceased individuals.²¹⁹

Moreover, we can imagine that these were not simply mechanical actions, but specific instances in which mourners would have had opportunities to participate in the preparation of their loved ones. In fact, these were the final rites that dealt directly with the physical body. By contributing burial shrouds to the deceased, mourners were able to actively participate in events intended to facilitate death transitions.²²⁰ Such moments may have been occasions for poignant displays of emotion.

²¹⁷ *Yili zhushu* 37.806 ("Shisangli"). Presumably, some were collected in boxes and placed among the grave good inventory as provisions for the afterlife.

²¹⁸ Beckman incorporates a passage from the *Zuozhuan* into her argument, which states that "it is the trim that is used to judge a garment." Beckman 2006, 78.

²¹⁹ In Western Han tomb no. 101 at Yizhenxupu, in addition to a written will of the deceased on sixteen bamboo slips, wooden tablets included records of grave goods offered at burial, with entries such as "two rolls of fine silk valued at 1100 coins, from Yu [a locale just northwest of the area where the burial was unearthed] 又取縑二匹直千一百于輿." See Yangzhou Bowuguan, "Jiangsu Yizhengxupu 101 hao Xi Han mu 江蘇儀征胥浦 101 號西漢墓," *Wenwu* 1987.1, 1-19. Also, what appear to be inventory lists for articles of clothing have also been found in each coffin of a Han dynasty joint burial at Lianyungang. See Nanjing Bowuyuan, "Jiangsu Lianyungang Shi Haizhou Wangtuan Zhuang Han muguo mu 江蘇連雲港市海州網疇莊漢木郭墓," *Kaogu* 1963.6, 287-290.

²²⁰ See Howard Williams, "The Emotive Force of Early Medieval Mortuary Practices," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 22.1 (2007), 109.

The coffining of the body took place in the main hall near the western steps. After the Greater Dressing, which was performed on the morning of the third day, a pit was excavated in the main room of the household in an area flush with the western steps. The coffin was then brought inside the house, the body was placed inside, and the encoffined body then lowered into the pit and sealed.²²¹ Previously, while preparations were being made for the initial dressing of the body, a rectangular banner was created with the words, “Mr. So-and-so’s coffin (*mou shi mou zhi jiu* 某氏某之柩).”²²² This banner, which had been temporarily hung from a bamboo pole at the western steps, was now set before the freshly sealed coffin. Evidence for banners of different types has been found spread over the tops of coffins in all burial contexts described above. At Mashan, a rectangular piece of silk with ink markings was found next to a bamboo pole, but deterioration was too advanced to decipher its content.²²³ It may have been similar to the well-preserved banner found in the tomb of Lady Dai at Mawangdui, which includes a portrait of the deceased instead of her name.²²⁴ Those closest to the dictates of the *Yi li* survived in three burials (nos. 15, 22, & 23) at Wuwei. Two were made from silk and one from hemp, each similar in size to the length and width of the coffins. Information on the banners included the name of the deceased and his place of birth. For example, the hemp banner from tomb no. 23 read, “Zhang Bosheng’s *jiu* 柩 coffin, Pingling, Jingshili. When passing by, do not weep.”²²⁵

²²¹ *Yili zhushu* 37.807812 (“Shisangli”).

²²² *Yili zhushu* 35.770 (“Shisangli”).

²²³ Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Diqū Bowuguan 1985, 9, black and white plate 4.2.

²²⁴ Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Zhongguo Kexue Yuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1973, Vol. I, 39-45. For discussion of this banner as a portrait of the deceased, see Wu Hung, “Art in Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui,” *Early China* 17 (1992), 111-144.

²²⁵ “平陵敬事里張伯升之柩過所毋哭.” Gansu Sheng Bowuguan 1960, 25. Translation based on Beckman 2006, 163. According to the archaeological report, Pingling was a county of the Han period, located just northwest of Xianyang in Shaanxi province, and not far from Wuwei.

After the coffin was placed in a temporary burial and sealed, and the banner identifying the corpse raised just beside it, the stage had been set for the next part of the funerary rituals, during which the attention of the living shifted from the corpse to the burial accoutrements that were to surround the dead in the final interment. Before describing the events that followed, however, I would like to summarize the initial preparation of the corpse by briefly discussing some observations that can be made based on the archaeological evidence and recorded procedures.

To begin, both archaeological contexts and ritual texts indicate that special care was devoted to washing the body, securing the limbs with bindings, and covering or filling bodily orifices. Coverings for the face or the head, in particular, were a noteworthy part of these preparations. Indeed, as part of the innermost layer of bodily wrappings, face covers were arranged in the very initial stages of bodily preparation, effectively erasing the visage even before the body itself had lost human form. As with other details of the funerary rites, materials employed in these practices may have been subject to regional traditions, but were also dependent on rank: compare the wife of a middle-ranking officer at Mashan, who was found with various silk head coverings, to the burial of the minister Zhao of Jin, who was found with jade plaques covering his face, including two pieces that replicated his eyes (these plaques were probably once attached or sewn into a cloth to cover the face).²²⁶

Though the ritual texts do not offer explanations for face coverings and other initial preparations, we can deduce larger attitudes toward the body in death based on such material

²²⁶ For analysis of this burial, see Joy Beckman, "Minister Zhao's Grave: Staging an Eastern Zhou Burial," *Oriental Art*, Vol. 34, No. 5 (May 2002), 22-26. A tradition of jade face coverings for higher-ranking burials can be traced to the Western Zhou period. For a discussion of this phenomenon throughout the Zhou and Han dynasties, see Wang Tao and Liu Yu, "The Face of the Other World: Jade Face-covers from Ancient Tombs," in *Chinese Jades*, ed. Rosemary E. Scott (London: University of London and the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1997), 133-46.

details and information from texts. Michael Parker Pearson has noted the peculiar treatment of the remarkably preserved bodies of Pazyryk (Siberia), datable to the sixth through fourth centuries BCE. Though these bodies were embalmed, specific attention to the extremities—including one burial in which the nail of the middle finger of the deceased’s right hand was bound to his groin by a thin piece of thread, and in another burial were found leather bags containing human hair and nail clippings—suggests that those who buried them held particular beliefs about the danger or vulnerability of bodily boundaries, including the skin, nails and hair.²²⁷ Hertz recognized the motivations behind preparation of the corpse in death as twofold: on the one hand, these practices were protective of the deceased against evil spirits that may harm him before final rites were performed; on the other hand, certain measures were taken in order to alleviate the threat of deathly influences upon the surrounding living community.²²⁸ Indeed, Mary Douglas later developed the notion of margins of the body as particular sites for the entrance or exiting of pollutants during periods of liminality, or transition.²²⁹ In the Chinese context, washing and binding the body, combing and securing the hair, clipping the nails and disposing of bodily parings, as well as the covering of orifices were culturally specific ways for preserving order and ensuring protection of the body upon its exposure to death. Moreover, ritual specifications, including preparation of the deceased in a room designated for physical and spiritual purification, and keeping bodily parings separate, are suggestive of efforts to maintain the purity of the corpse. At the same time, after securing and dressing the corpse, the body was quickly consigned to the coffin, which some scholars have viewed as an additional wrapping of

²²⁷ Michael Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999; College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), 61-64. Citations are to the Texas A&M University Press edition.

²²⁸ Hertz [1960] 2009, 33-34.

²²⁹ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; repr., London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 122.

the corpse²³⁰, and may have also served as a new and protective boundary between the living and the dead.

Through these procedures, the living actively recognized death and accordingly prepared deceased bodies for transition to a new existence. At the same time however, while the physical body was still visible, they were not quick to treat their loved ones as fully deceased. As mentioned above, before the deceased was bathed and dressed, food offerings were presented before the body while mourners arrived with their condolences. In addition, the *Yi li* specifies that during the rite of washing the body, the nails of the deceased and his beard were to be trimmed *as in life* (*ru ta ri* 如他日).²³¹ Archaeological contexts also indicate that bodies were adorned in ways that surpassed funerary dictates. Both the woman at Mashan and Lady Dai from Mawangdui were wearing hair extensions in death (see Figs. 3.1 and 3.2). Moreover, the chignon of Lady Dai was secured by three *zhi* hairpins of tortoise shell, bamboo and horn. She was also wearing a dangling hair ornament or headdress in death, as evidenced by twenty-nine small wooden flower-shaped pieces painted in vermillion and black, with traces of gold foil and inlay, found about her forehead and temples.²³² This ornament was likely the same type as seen in her portrait on the funerary banner found face down among her nested coffins. Similarly, the man in tomb no. 64 at Wuwei was wearing a military cap in death. Traces of caps have also been found at the heads of deceased males in Han tombs in the areas of present-day Shandong

²³⁰ Wu 1992, 118-21; Beckman 2006, 120-23.

²³¹ *Yili zhushu* 36.785 (“Shisangli”).

²³² Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Zhongguo Kexue Yuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1973, Vol. I, 28-29. In another well-preserved example, an assemblage of *chai* hairpins was found at the head of the deceased wife of Wang Xu, buried at Lelang (North Korea) during the Eastern Han period. The configuration of these hairpins is indicative of the elaborate hairstyle that she wore in death. See Figure 2.34; Harada and Tazawa 1930, Plate 117.

and Sichuan.²³³ Bodies were also ornamented with items of status, such as jade amulets or bronze knives or swords. As in many other cultures, social status was articulated and continued into death through the adornment and display of material items.

It is possible that adorning the corpse as though living was also carried out according to the particular wishes of deceased individuals. In a story recorded in the *Hanshu*, we read of a concubine of Emperor Wu who was ashamed to have her husband see her sickly countenance during her last moments of life. She stated: “The emperor thinks fondly and tenderly of me because he remembers the way I used to look. Now if he were to see me thin and wasted, with all the old beauty gone from my face, he would be filled with loathing and disgust and would do his best to put me out of his mind.”²³⁴ In other words, individuals desired to look in death as they did in their best moments of life, and to be remembered as such. A similar sentiment is conveyed in the *Xunzi*: “It is the way with the dead that, if they are not adorned, they become ugly, and if they become ugly, then one will feel no grief for them.”²³⁵ In the same text, it is further explained that the preparations of the funeral are designed such that the dead are treated, “as though dead, and yet as though still alive, as though gone, and yet as though still present. Beginning and end are thereby unified.”²³⁶ In this light, the procedures involved in preparation of the physical body were intended to bring about a seamless transition from life to death, and

²³³ For those in Shangdong (tomb nos. 14 and 34 at Jinqueshan), see Linyi Shi Bowuguan, “Shandong Linyi Jinqueshan Zhou Shi mu qun fajue jianbao 山東臨沂金雀山周氏墓群發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* (1984.11), 41-58, and Linyi Shi Bowuguan, “Shandong Linyi Jinqueshan jiu zuo Han dai muzang 山東臨沂金雀山九座漢代墓葬,” *Wenwu* (1989.1), 21-47; for an example in Sichuan, see Chongqing Shi Bowuguan, eds. “Chongqing Shi Linjiang Zhilu Xi Han mu 重慶土臨江支路西漢墓,” *Kaogu* (1986.3), 230-42.

²³⁴ “上所以亂孌孌顧念我者，乃以平生容貌也。今見我毀壞，顏色非故，必畏惡吐棄我。” *Hanshu* 97.3951 (“Xiao Wu Li Furen 孝武李夫人”); translation in Burton Watson, trans., *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han*, by Pan Ku (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1974), 249.

²³⁵ Translated in Watson 1963, 103.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

one that, while the body was still visible, ensured favorable final impressions of deceased individuals.

These practices were complimented by movements in space that likewise effected death transitions. Elsewhere in the *Xunzi*, we are given a sense of the multi-faceted orchestration of these initial rites: “It is the custom in all mourning rites to keep changing and adorning the appearance of the dead person, to keep moving him farther and farther away, and as time passes, to return gradually to one’s regular way of life.”²³⁷ As preparations progressed and the body was washed and concealed under layers of wrappings—the last of which was the coffin itself—the body was also moved from the eastern part of the house to a specific spot at the head of the western steps. Lai Guolong’s study of the use and meaning of lamps in the funerary ceremonies has called attention to the notion that the eastern part of the house was the realm of the host, while the western side was reserved for guests. According to Lai, movement of the deceased from east to west was a way of actuating a transformation in perception of the deceased, not only from living person to corpse, but also from the host of the house to spirit guest.²³⁸

Moreover, Wu Hung has pointed out that once the body was sealed within the coffin, it was no longer referred to as a corpse (*shi* 尸), but by a designation that comprised the new coffin-body complex, termed *jiu* 柩. Incorporated into that complex was also the name banner mentioned above. According to the *Li ji*, the purpose of the banner was to maintain the identity of the now hidden corpse: “The inscription is a bright banner. The deceased is considered as having become indistinguishable, and so one uses this flag to identify (*zhi* 識) him. If you love him, you make this record of him, and if you respect him, you simply carry out this general

²³⁷ Watson 1963, 99-100.

²³⁸ Lai Guolong, “Lighting the Way in the Afterlife: Bronze Lamps in Warring States Tombs,” *Orientalism*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (April 2002), 24. See also Lai 2002a, 115.

principle to the utmost for him.”²³⁹ As noted by Joy Beckman, the character for “identify,” *zhi*, also connotes “recognizing” and “remembering.”²⁴⁰ In other words, though the earthly body was concealed and no longer part of this world, the identity and memory of the deceased would continue to occupy a place among the living—in some cases, as in the banner of Lady Dai, a portrait was even provided to facilitate remembrance. Hertz would see these actions as crucial to the renewal of individuals in their new, spiritual form.²⁴¹ In other words, the deceased as living being was expunged from this world and created anew for a world beyond. The reconstruction of the identity of the deceased as ancestor, however, was to be shaped further by the objects placed with them in the burial. These accompanying burial goods were collected, accumulated and displayed throughout the remainder of the funerary rites as material extensions of the deceased that further influenced what was remembered and forgotten about deceased individuals.

3.4 RITUALS OF INTERMENT: ACCUMULATION AND DISPLAY OF GRAVE GOODS

Whereas the first phase of the funerary ceremonies was devoted to encasing the body in layers of wrappings and finally, the coffin, the second phase focused on material objects that were to further surround the body in death. Joy Beckman has approached the two phases of the funerary rituals—before and after coffining—as concentrated on different aspects of the deceased in death.

²³⁹ “銘，明旌也。以死者為不可別已，故以其旌識之。愛之，斯錄之矣。敬之，斯盡其道焉耳。” *Liji zhengyi* 9.310-311 (“Tan Gong Xia 檀弓下”); translation in Kenneth Brashier, “Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Stele,” in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, Martin Kern, ed. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005), 270.

²⁴⁰ Beckman 2006, 163-164.

²⁴¹ Hertz [1960] 2009, 80-81; see also Williams 2006, 94.

She sees the first part of the rites as preparation of the *physical* body. The second part, to be described in this section, which involved the collection and display of grave goods before the lineage temple and at the final gravesite, shifted attention to articulation of the *social* body.²⁴² I would add to this that each of these phases was characterized as a different way of memorializing the body. This, in fact, is a common perspective taken when considering grave goods, though analyses often take the static burial layout as their focus. Following Howard Williams, I hope to demonstrate that we can better understand their social significances and potentially open our minds to further layers of meaning when we consider the deployment of grave goods during the funerary rites and their impact on audiences of mourners.²⁴³

As described above, the *bin* ceremony was a period during which the newly encoffined corpse lay in wait in a temporary pit at the household while further funerary arrangements were made, mourners arrived, and auspicious days for burial were determined. When the time came to begin procession to the lineage temple, the coffin was unearthed from its temporary grave in the main hall, dusted off, and covered with a pall. Fortunately, stone carvings dating to the middle and late Han dynasty have offered visualizations of the subsequent processions and rituals which took place at both the lineage temple and the gravesite. These images have been discussed by scholars such as Wu Hung and Lydia Thompson for what they can tell us about Han period ritual sequences.²⁴⁴ The accordance of this pictorial evidence with certain dictates of the *Yi li* and *Li ji*,

²⁴² Beckman 2002.

²⁴³ Williams 2006.

²⁴⁴ See Wu Hung, "Where Are They Going? Where Did They Come From? – Hearse and 'Soul-carriage' in Han Dynasty Tomb Art," *Oriental Art*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (1998), 22-31; Lydia Thompson, "The Yi'nan Tomb: Narrative and Ritual in Pictorial Art of the Eastern Han (25-220 C.E.)," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1998).

however, suggests that the general sequence, at least, may have also applied to the earlier, Warring States and Qin periods.²⁴⁵

The first set of images that aid in a reconstruction of these events has been found carved onto the side of a stone sarcophagus from a late, Middle Han period tomb in Weishan 微山 (Shandong).²⁴⁶ The composition of this carving is divided into three registers, each of which narrates an event of the funerary sequence. Featured in the far left, or first scene, is a tall figure handing a roll of silk to a child, an exchange which Wu Hung interprets as gifts offered to the descendents of the deceased.²⁴⁷ The central scene shows mourners accompanying a large hearse in procession. Small figures in front pull the hearse forward, while those in its wake, depicted as larger in size, were likely family members of the deceased. A figure at the top right who holds a cane and bows toward the hearse appears to be the principal mourner (see Chapter Four). The final scene is centered on a large open grave in the shape of a rectangle, surrounded by standing and seated mourners, some of whom are drinking from wine cups, and foregrounded by three large tumulae in a surrounding forest.

While these scenes offer a rather abbreviated narration of events, the placement of the procession scene at the center highlights its importance as a phase of transition from the household²⁴⁸, where gifts were received, to the deceased's new residence, the grave. The final

²⁴⁵ Both Wu Hung and Lydia Thompson use these texts to support or bolster their arguments.

²⁴⁶ For an early discussion of this sarcophagus, see Wang Sili 王思禮, Lai Fei 賴非, Dong Chong 丁冲, and Wan Liang 萬良, "Shandong Weishan Xian Han dai huaxiangshi diaocha baogao 山東微山縣漢代畫像石調查報告," *Kaogu* (1989.8), 600-709; see also Ma Hanguo 馬漢國, *Weishan Han Huaxiangshi Xuanji* 微山漢畫像石選集 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2003), 244-245, plate 108.

²⁴⁷ In initial interpretations of this scene, the figures have been identified as Confucius (tall figure in center—curved object is his cane) meeting Laozi (figure in line with Confucius, at far right). According to Wang et al., this is a familiar scene in Han period stone carvings, and the appearance of a small child in between the two wise men is also common. This small figure has been identified as the "boy genius," Xiang Tuo. See Wang et al. 1989, 700; and Wu Hung 1998, 24.

²⁴⁸ There are no indications in this scene that it takes place at the household. It may just as likely have taken place at the ancestral temple, where gifts were also conferred.

scene, in which mourners partake of libations at the grave, is illustrative of the prominence of food and drink in punctuating events surrounding death. These practices, as recorded in ritual texts and evidenced through the abundance of eating and drinking vessels placed in tombs, were an important way in which the living communed with the dead on these occasions of transition, effecting an atmosphere of liminality that was vital to the passage of deceased individuals. Moreover, the three large tumulae that dominate the upper register of the final scene imply further advancement from the realm of the living to that of the dead, as well as a sense of continuity into an afterlife.

Scenes carved along the lintels of the front chamber of an underground stone slab tomb of the Eastern Han at Yi'nan 沂南 (Shandong) fill in some of the gaps left in the ritual events depicted on the Weishan sarcophagus. These detailed carvings, which were more skillfully executed and part of a much larger and complex pictorial program that extended over all walls of this multi-chambered tomb, offer a rare glimpse of the deployment of burial goods at different moments of the funerary rites. One scene in particular has been interpreted as depicting ceremonies at the lineage temple before procession to the gravesite.²⁴⁹ In this scene, robed figures in official caps bow before the temple. They are surrounded by items laid out and displayed on either side of the building, including wine vessels, sacs of grain, and a number of boxes which may have held items such as food and other provisions. Rounded boxes that closely resemble *lian* toiletry cases are arranged among these items. As mentioned before, though the *lian* form was also used for containing food items, the elaborate decoration delineated on the bodies of these rounded cases points to the possibility that they were used for toiletry items.

²⁴⁹ Thompson 1998, 194.

According to the *Yi li*, the coffin would have been carried into the temple complex for presentation before the ancestors. That night, gifts and other grave goods were collected and displayed, and then tallied on wooden tablets by object type and donor. This list of grave goods was then read aloud the next morning before an audience of both the living and the dead.²⁵⁰ As will be elaborated in the next section, these goods would have included personal items or symbols of rank that the deceased treasured in life; numbered sets of vessels for religious or secular banquets, or both; items to protect against potential evil forces in an afterlife context; as well as other objects made specifically for burial, delineating the world of the dead from that of the living. The display and ritual announcement of grave goods during this phase of the mortuary ceremonies would have created lasting impressions of the identities deceased individuals were permitted and afforded for afterlife contexts. Both archaeological evidence and the ritual dictates that have survived for our perusal today convey not only highly structured ceremonies for preparing individuals for death, but even more so an acute sense of the importance of social ordering through the material world.²⁵¹

The final event of the funerary ceremonies was the procession to the gravesite, where again the *Yi li* specifies that burial goods were to be arranged and displayed on the eastern and western sides of the grave.²⁵² Mourners then watched as the coffin was lowered into a previously constructed outer encasement, after which they departed. Finally, accompanying goods were arranged in the outer compartment and the grave was sealed. Tombs constructed toward the end of the Han dynasty were in the form of horizontal chambers that were large enough to allow the society of mourners to enter inside and be present during the final rites, thus

²⁵⁰ *Yili zhushu* 39.864-874 (“Jixili 既夕禮”).

²⁵¹ Falkenhausen 2006, 76.

²⁵² *Yili zhushu* 40.877 (“Jixili”).

enabling a heightened experience of final communality between the living and the dead.²⁵³ On the day following final interment, an ancestral tablet was erected in its proper place in the lineage temple.

The entire sequence of funerary events as described above—informed by ritual texts but also largely supported by archaeological and pictorial evidence—demonstrates that the final burial tableau was in no way the only instance of intentional visual display. We have seen that, in fact, the rituals were designed as a series of opportunities for presentation (reading of inventories), display, and finally, concealment, events that in many instances would have actively involved an audience of both the living and the dead.²⁵⁴ With this structure in mind, we can now begin to consider the multiple layers of meaning that toiletry sets may have conveyed during these processes.

In order to fully understand these meanings, we must first examine the relative position of toiletry items within the larger collection of burial goods. Toiletry case sets, in fact, were part of significant changes in burial goods and structures from the fifth through third centuries BCE that highlighted new ways of expressing social status in death. Moreover, these reconfigurations were in themselves implicated in larger transformations in the religious outlook on death. In the following section, I will contextualize the introduction of toiletry cases to burial inventories within burials of the Warring States through Han, and then consider their significances with relation to the corpse in funerary displays.

²⁵³ See the end of this chapter for more on these structural changes; see also Chapter Four for a discussion of the changing relationship between the living and the dead from the Warring States and through the Han.

²⁵⁴ Williams 2006, 134.

3.5 TOILETRY CASE SETS AMONG BURIAL GOODS

Toiletry case sets first began to appear in burials as part of large-scale changes in the content and structure of mortuary contexts, ranging from the decline of certain types of grave goods and the addition of new categories, to transformations in how burials were constructed and arranged. The earliest manifestations of these changes appear in high-ranking burials, but were subsequently adopted in middle-ranking contexts as well. As will be demonstrated, consideration of toiletry sets in tombs during this time helps to articulate some of the broader socio-political and ideological implications of these changes.

Some of the most striking changes can be observed within the program of burial goods. Toiletry case sets were among new categories of objects placed in burials that accentuated the eclipse of time-honored bronze ritual vessels and bells. Though bronze bells and, to a certain extent, chimestones, became important during the Zhou dynasty as integral to ritual communication with the ancestors, the ritual vessels in particular were a highly visible and symbolic component of elite life as early as the Shang dynasty and throughout most of the Zhou. They were cast in a variety of forms for containing meats, grains, or liquids, and were used in sacrificial banquets in honor of both the living and dead among lineages. During the Western Zhou, inscriptions cast into these vessels, which were meaningful in a variety of social contexts in life, figured also in mortuary rituals, during which they confirmed genealogical hierarchies and directly aligned the living with the dead.²⁵⁵ Bronze vessels were housed and displayed in the lineage temple and utilized in sets, in which quantities of certain types corresponded to

²⁵⁵ The significance of inscriptions on bronze vessels has been recently discussed by Li Feng, who asserts their importance in contexts of life in addition to those of death. See Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

aristocratic rank.²⁵⁶ Taken into death, they were the material focus of funerary rituals and burials, which paralleled the temple setting. As ancestors were at the center of temples, so too were deceased individuals at the center of tombs, where they could continue to revere their superiors while simultaneously joining their ranks.²⁵⁷ As elegantly put by Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Western Zhou funerary ritual...transformed a person into an ancestor by reducing that person to the basic ritual dimensions of his or her social existence.”²⁵⁸

The centrality of bronze ritual vessels in both life and death is illustrative of a social and political landscape based in blood ties and kinship, where rank and authority were confirmed through an extended line of ancestors. Pivotal changes in the form and ornamentation of these vessels from the tenth through ninth centuries BCE, and again in the seventh century BCE, were symptomatic of social and ritual reorganizations brought on by the growing political instability of the Zhou.²⁵⁹ Such changes culminated in the opulent showpieces of higher-ranking Warring States burials, including examples from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng, datable to 433 BCE. These vessels, while still used in ritual, appear to have expressed more about individual wealth and command of resources than they did about access to and communality with the ancestors. Moreover, the introduction of new object types alongside ritual vessels in tombs around the fifth century BCE signified the beginnings of a shift in focus from authority derived solely from the ancestors, to status based also on a secular lifestyle and individual wealth.

²⁵⁶ Though recorded in texts, the graded sets of bronze vessels that correspond to aristocratic rank are not uniform across the states that made up the Zhou cultural sphere. As suggested by Lothar von Falkenhausen, these ranks were only coherent within lineages rather than across them. Falkenhausen 2006, 100.

²⁵⁷ See Hayashi 1993.

²⁵⁸ Falkenhausen 2006, 299.

²⁵⁹ For the changes of the 10-9th centuries BCE, known as the Late Western Zhou Ritual Revolution, see Jessica Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 433-40. For those of the 7th century BCE, referred to as the Middle Springs and Autumns Ritual Restructuring, see Falkenhausen 2006, 326-69.

These new types comprised two categories: items made specifically for burial, including substitutes, or *mingqi*, as well as objects with protective value; and items taken directly from life, representative of the social and private worlds of individuals. Much has been written on the nature of *mingqi*, and the meanings behind this designation varied from the Zhou through Han dynasties.²⁶⁰ During the Warring States period, *mingqi* referred largely to a category of bronze ritual vessel substitutes, imitations that were often miniaturized, or made from poorly-cast bronze or less expensive materials, such as ceramic or wood.²⁶¹ Dispersal of these surrogates in burials across the highest and lowest of the ranked elite contributed to the decline of ritual vessels as a distinguishing feature of status.²⁶² From the Warring States and into the Han period, the idea of the substitute expanded to objects that represented different facets of life, including models of granaries, houses, or farms; figurines of servants and entertainers; and imagery on the walls of tombs that illustrated idealized scenes from life, paradisiacal landscapes of desired afterworlds, constellations, and other representations that were deemed necessary to the afterlife (see Chapter Four). These images were also often protective in nature, depicting guards or demons that were probably intended to combat evil influences that were believed to lurk about the path to the afterworld. Three-dimensionally carved tomb guardians with gaping eyes and unfurled tongues or small figurines of peachwood like those found in the tomb of Lady Dai, as well as a host of weaponry, have also been found among burial goods, and were probably intended as complimentary to the measures taken to protect the corpse as described above. In addition to the

²⁶⁰ *Mingqi* are said to have existed as early as the Xia dynasty, as noted in the *Liji*. However, we cannot be certain that the concept of *mingqi* predated the passage from the *Liji*. Objects as early as the Neolithic periods appear to have been made specifically for burial, or in imitation of objects that were of higher quality or ritual value. Until the Warring States period, these *mingqi* were found mainly in low-ranking tombs in imitation of ritually-functional bronze vessels. See Cary Y. Liu, "Embodying the Harmony of the Sun and the Moon: The Concept of 'Brilliant Artifacts' in Han Dynasty Burial Objects and Funerary Architecture," in Susan L. Beningson and Cary Y. Liu et al., *Providing for the Afterlife: "Brilliant Artifacts" from Shandong* (New York: China Institute, 2005), 17-29.

²⁶¹ Some were also ceramic imitations of well-crafted ceramics.

²⁶² Falkenhausen 2006, 391.

variety of references these substitute objects and images symbolized on a micro-scale, their overall importance as a new category of burial goods lay in their agency in distinguishing the worlds of the living and the dead, a significant departure from the continuity between worlds embodied through real bronze ritual vessels.

Despite desires to distinguish these worlds materially, however, the afterworld was still modeled on the world of the living, and a category of objects taken directly from the elite world—objects with “no immediate ritual function”²⁶³—consequently held special meaning. Apparently, while the dead did not require real ritual vessels, they did desire the genuine accouterments of an upper class lifestyle. These items included personal weapons, vessels and utensils for banqueting, household furniture, and new kinds of musical instruments that were more suited to private entertainment. Many of these objects were created from lacquered wood, but some were also cast in bronze. Indeed, along with the decline in the creation of bronze ritual vessels was an upsurge in the production of new bronze types, including mirrors, lamps, and incense burners. Bronze vessels, most likely for non-ritual purposes, were also being produced. For example, in the eastern chamber of the fourth century BCE tomb of King Cuo from the state of Zhongshan (Hebei), a collection of bronze vessels was found along with a bronze lamp, as well as furniture mounts and free-standing real and mythical animal sculptures, many of which were inlaid with gold, silver, and copper—two bronze *hu* wine containers were even set with turquoise and painted with blue lacquer.²⁶⁴ According to Wu Xiaolong, these items recreated the private life of King Cuo, and their lavish ornamentation formed a sharp contrast to the comparatively modest decoration on a grouping of ritual vessels used in official, public

²⁶³ As described by Lothar von Falkenhausen. See Falkenhausen 2006, 309.

²⁶⁴ Wu Xiaolong, “Bronze Industry, Stylistic Tradition, and Cultural Identity in Ancient China: Bronze Artifacts of the Zhongshan State, Warring States Period (476-221 BCE),” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2004), 33.

ceremonies found elsewhere in his burial complex.²⁶⁵ To be sure, scholars have recognized the fine craftsmanship exhibited by burial goods of this new category, and much has been written about a lively artistic dialogue across mediums that contributed to the development of increasingly complex and refined ornamental schemes and design motifs.²⁶⁶ In a recent book, Martin Powers described how an individual's social status was literally encoded within these stylistic patterns.²⁶⁷ Fresh attention to ornamentation and detail along with the high quality of these pieces bespeaks a reorientation in resources and labor from the dominant bronze ritual vessel foundries to an emerging industry that catered to lifestyles of sheer ostentation.

The inclusion of toiletry sets in burials among objects of this category attests to their value as essential and indispensable possessions among the elite. Indeed, the elite material world as represented through this new category emphatically encompassed the body and face through toiletry items, as well as a wider assortment of objects for personal adornment. Among them, we find extra pairs of shoes and boxes full of clothing, as well as bolts of silk, gauze fabrics and brocades. In addition, sewing needles, scissors, and utensils for ironing clothing and infusing it with fragrance have been found in Warring States through Han period burials. Beginning in the Qin dynasty, equipment for bathing, including shallow, wide-mouthed pots for washing the body or hair, was also taken into death.²⁶⁸ Considered together, these items highlight the growing significance of the adorned and maintained body and face within contexts of an afterlife.

²⁶⁵ Ibid. This point is also made in Wu 1998a, 730-731.

²⁶⁶ See, for example, Jessica Rawson, "Chu Influences on the Development of Han Bronze Vessels," *Arts Asiaticques*, Vol. XLIV (1989), 84-99; William Watson, *Studies in Chinese Archaeology and Art* (London: The Pinder Press, 1998), 349-64; and Colin Mackenzie, "The Influence of Textile Designs on Bronze, Lacquer and Ceramic Decoration Styles during the Warring States Period," *Orientalism* (Sept. 1999), 82-91.

²⁶⁷ Martin J. Powers, *Pattern and Person: Ornament, Society, and Self in Classical China* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center and Harvard University Press, 2006).

²⁶⁸ For a discussion of these items, see Sun Ji's chapter, "Items for Daily Use (*ri yong zhinpin* 日用雜品)," in Sun 2008, 399-403.

Tools for grooming, placed in burials apart from the body and increasingly enclosed in the toiletry case, specifically materialized desires to maintain daily practices of beautification. Unlike the toiletry sets found in the Western Zhou dynasty burials of the Yu State, toiletry cases and their contents from the Warring States period on were just as lavishly crafted as other accompanying burial items, and at times, arguably more striking. Take, for example, the leather and fabric-cored box with polychrome landscape painting found in the Warring States period burial of the official, Shao Tuo [A:10b].²⁶⁹ As Hong Shi has noted, details of craftsmanship or decoration that distinguished certain pieces from the growing corpus of lacquered items were important ways for articulating status.²⁷⁰ In addition to its innovative decoration, within Shao Tuo's case were round and square bronze mirrors that feature complex interlaces of dragons and phoenixes, lined with black lacquer and once inset with turquoise. Moreover, the square mirror preserved traces of red and yellow lacquer, and was once enclosed in a silk bag. As described in Chapter Two, toiletry cases from Han dynasty tombs often appeared as vanguard pieces, embellished with figure painting or gold and silver ornamentation—and in some examples, even encrusted with precious stones, as in the fabric-bodied case from a late Western Han tomb near (Jiangsu) [C:63].²⁷¹ This case, conspicuously covered in silver ornamentation in the form of mounts, a persimmon motif set with precious stones on the center of the lid and landscapes in foil around the body, contained eight smaller boxes of similar decoration, as well as a wooden comb and two, small bronze-handled brushes.

Characterizing this new category of burial objects as “items used in daily life (*shenghuo yongqi* 生活用器),” as is commonly the case in archaeological reports, is slightly misleading in

²⁶⁹ See Hubei Sheng Jingsha Tielu Kaogu Dui 1991, Vol. 2, color plates 7-8.

²⁷⁰ Hong 2006, 213-14.

²⁷¹ Nanjing Bowuyuan 1963, 287-88, plate 1.4.

that it implies that these items were ordinary or mundane. On the contrary, following Alain Thote, Lai Guolong has recognized that these items began to replace the stunning bronze ritual vessel sets as the new focus of the funerary spectacle. Indeed, according to Lothar von Falkenhausen, by the end of the Warring States period, due to the general decline in quality of bronze ritual vessels and the addition of *mingqi* substitutes, expression of social status in funerary displays was achieved mainly through tomb size and the degree of opulence of non-ritual items.²⁷² The quality and ornate decoration of these items, be they for public displays during hunting, feasting or entertaining, or private activities of bodily maintenance, adornment and beautification, suggests that elite status was appraised not simply by ritual authority, but more broadly by one's daily material existence.

3.6 TOILETRY CASE SETS IN FUNERARY DISPLAYS

Placed on view both at the ancestral temple and the gravesite, toiletry case sets were part of visual displays that functioned to characterize the multi-sequential ritual landscape that unfolded on occasions of death. Below, I consider the multiple meanings they may have acquired within these constructed mortuary contexts, meanings that may have even evolved or become more pronounced over the course of events.

²⁷² Falkenhausen 2006, 391.

3.6.1 Social Status

As is commonly understood, toiletry case sets were components of displays that emphasized both membership in an upper tier of society and participation in an exclusive way of life. They were exhibited among accumulated non-ritual items in a show of the material dimensions of the deceased's social existence for an audience of revered ancestors and a procession of the living. Moreover, from *in situ* assemblages in tombs (see below), it is probable that they were grouped together with other items that articulated a culture of personal adornment and beautification as significant in displays of social status in death, a notion acknowledged by few.

Observed in themselves, details such as sumptuous decorative elements and other factors unique to each case as mentioned above communicated individual worth, or at least, desired worth. Overall, sets from royal burials prove to be richer in ornamentation, but there are exceptions, such as the toiletry cases from a couple's tomb at Yaozhuang (no. 101, Jiangsu), which rank among the most lavishly decorated pieces excavated, yet belonged only to a mid-level military officer and his wife [C:44c,e].²⁷³ Similarly, the size of toiletry cases does not appear to have had a consistent correlative relationship to rank. A toiletry case of the royal princess, Dou Wan 竇綰 [C:78b], while comparatively large at ~25 cm in diameter, nevertheless falls within the average range of measurements for cases of the Han. Those of two wives of Marquises, however—a woman buried at Fuyang Shuanggudui 阜陽雙古堆 (Anhui [C:39]) and Lady Dai from Mawangdui (Hunan [C:26a])—are distinguished among cases for their large size, with the former measuring 30.5 cm in diameter and the latter, 35.2 cm. While I have argued that

²⁷³ Yangzhou Bowuguan, "Jiangsu Hanjiang Yaozhuang 101 hao xi Han mu 江蘇漢江姚莊 101 號西漢墓," *Wenwu* 1988.2, 19-43.

access to and use of toiletry items allowed one individual agency in improving appearance and, in turn, social position, so too might the extravagance and size of the containers communicate the impression of higher social status to funerary audiences.

What is more, the quantity of smaller boxes inside the cases may have also communicated privilege. According to Gao Zhiqiang高志強, Confucian emphases on the notion of filial piety—particularly, that parents could rely on their children to care for them late in life—are encoded within these smaller boxes, a development that is evidenced as early as the late Warring States, but is more commonly seen in Han period cases. Gao looks to how toiletry cases were designated in tomb inventories for his evidence. For example, Lady Dai's toiletry case was listed as “九子曾檢[奩],” or “nine-box fabric *lian*.” The character employed to convey the idea of the smaller “boxes” inside the case is actually the word for “child,” thus the boxes became an allusion for multiple children. What is more, as odd numbers in Chinese numerology are auspicious, and most sets contained an odd number of boxes, Gao makes the claim that toiletry cases could have further symbolized the prosperity of the family—the greater the number of boxes inside, the more auspicious an expression of abundance, fertility, and security in life and death.²⁷⁴

3.6.2 Renewing and Ordering the Body and Face

To stop at the conclusion that toiletry case sets referred to the social identity of deceased individuals in their capacity as visual symbols of wealth and status, however, is to view objects placed with the dead through a narrow lens that does not consider some of the more fundamental

²⁷⁴ Gao Zhiqiang 高志強, “Lun gu dai qi lian sheji de lishi yanjin 論古代漆奩設計的歷史演進,” *Nanjing Yishu Xueyuan Xuebao* (2007.3), 53-55.

purposes of the funerary rites, one of which was to prepare and transition the body to its new, ancestral form. I posit that toiletry items can be compared to the name or portrait banners, which were specifically activated after the body was concealed in the coffin in order to maintain the identity of the deceased by name or appearance and simultaneously initiate construction of a new, spiritual identity. The tools found within the toiletry case, including mirrors, combs, hairpins, and cosmetic powders can be considered as indexes of the body—and particularly, the face—and may have served to reify an image of the deceased for an audience of mourners. A parallel idea has been put forward by Howard Williams for similar items in early Medieval European burials. Following Hertz, Williams sees the incorporation of toiletry articles into secondary burials consisting of the cremated remains of individuals as a way to “reconstitute the personhood” of the deceased in the transition from life to death. According to Williams, “it is possible that toilet artefacts may have been employed to articulate metaphorically the remaking of the deceased’s ‘new body’ by mourners.”²⁷⁵ In the context of rituals in early China, once the body was consigned to the coffin and rendered invisible to funerary audiences, the presence of the toiletry case among accompanying burial goods may have—more so than other items—contributed to the construction of a more embodied ancestral identity.

Moreover, as items that mediated between one’s natural features and an idealized social appearance, toiletry items may have also played a role in re-shaping remembrance of the dead by conjuring a cosmetically enhanced visage while allowing imperfections to recede from memory. According to Hallam and Hockey, memory is sustained through the visibility of objects, but at the same time, the presentation and framing of those objects affects the way that memories are

²⁷⁵ Howard Williams, “Material culture as memory: combs and cremation in early medieval Britain,” *Early Medieval Europe* 2003.12 (2), 100.

shaped.²⁷⁶ In the context of the idealized social persona presented through the entire assemblage of selected burial goods, the association of tools for beautification with physical perfection may have been pronounced.

In addition to the visual impact of toiletry case sets as considered from the perspective of ornamentation and varying contents, we may also take into account their relationship to deceased bodies through developments in their form. I further propose that if a new, flawless and idealized image of the deceased was conjured through the tools for beautification inside, then so too was an ordered body metaphorically maintained into death through the organized and compartmentalized spaces of toiletry cases. Indeed, as mentioned above, into the Han dynasty, toiletry cases expanded in form and size to include double and triple levels, some of which were created as compartmentalized spaces or packed with smaller boxes of differing forms that were configured to fit snugly inside. As described in Chapter Two, the forms of these boxes often accommodated the shapes and functions of their contents, organizing items with relation to different tasks of the beauty regimen. Thus, a toiletry case found in Han period tomb no. 23 at Shizhaishan (Yunnan [D:13]) contained a mirror, beneath which were six boxes, including a rectangular box with eyeliner pens and a hairpin, a horse hoof-shaped box with a wooden comb, and other boxes that contained grey substances that were probably cosmetic powders.²⁷⁷ If we consider the care and method involved in washing and ordering bodies in death, then the toiletry case as a materialization of the body post-concealment in the coffin may have also represented the maintenance of that order.

With this analogy in mind, it is worth considering how the development of the toiletry case can be compared to the development of tomb structures. In doing so, it becomes apparent

²⁷⁶ Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory & Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 9.

²⁷⁷ See Li 1964.

that the nexus of these two nodes was the encoffined body. To begin, I will describe how changes in burial structures were bound up in symbolic systems that governed the ever-increasing spatial units within which the Chinese had begun to re-structure their world in this period of disunion followed by consolidation. The tomb itself and its organization represented the last opportunity for the living to create a physically ordered context for the dead before they were consigned to the unknown world beyond.

Much has been written about the large-scale developments in mortuary architecture that are first evident in Warring States period contexts and then further evolved into the Han dynasty, changes which ran concurrent with the emergence of the new categories of burial goods described above.²⁷⁸ Before the Warring States, the highest among the ranked elite were buried in vertical-pit graves with nested structures consisting of one or more inner coffins (*guan* 棺) and a larger, outer encasement (*guo* 槨). By the late Warring States period, this configuration was afforded by the growing middle and lower ranking elite that emerged as a result of the social reorganization of the period. Moreover, as Alain Thote has noted with regard to burials of the Chu cultural sphere of the south (southwestern Henan, Hubei and Hunan), during the middle Zhou dynasty these structures were developed as compartmentalized spaces, first among higher ranking burials of the sixth century BCE, and a century later, among those of the middle ranking

²⁷⁸ See Robert Thorp, "The Mortuary Art and Architecture of Early Imperial China," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1979); Wang Zhongshu, *Han Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Guo Dewei 郭德維 and Hubei Sheng Bowuguan, "Shilun Jiangnan diqu Chu mu, Qin mu, Xi Han qian qi mu de fazhan yu yanbian 試論江漢地區楚墓, 秦墓, 西漢前期墓的發展與演變," *Wenwu yu Kaogu* (1983.2), 81-87; Poo Muzhou 蒲慕州, *Muzang yu shengsi: Zhongguo gudai zongjiao zhi shengsi 墓葬與生死 中國古代宗教之省思* (Taipei: Lianjing Chubanshiye Gongsi, 1993); Wu 1998a; Huang Xiaofen 黃曉芬, *Han mu de kaogu xue yanjiu 漢墓的考古學研究* (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 2003); Alain Thote, "Burial Practices as Seen in Rulers' Tomb of the Eastern Zhou Period: Patterns and Regional Traditions," in *Religion and Chinese Society: Volume I: Ancient and Medieval China*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press; Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004), 65-107; Falkenhausen 2006.

elite.²⁷⁹ In these new spaces, the outer encasement was divided into contiguous chambers: one which further enclosed the coffin, and additional flanking chambers, which often accommodated the separation of burial goods by type. In a study of middle-sized tombs of the Chu, Thote recognized the separation of bronze ritual vessels or their *mingqi* substitutes from new types of non-ritual items for personal use, especially in burials with head and side compartments.²⁸⁰ As mentioned in Chapter Two, the earliest instance of the compartmentalization of the toiletry case has been found in the side chamber of a late Warring States Chu tomb at Yangjiawan, near Changsha (Hunan [A:15a]).

Combined with changes in burial good types, these developments in tomb structure point to new conceptions of an afterlife that paralleled the world of the living both materially and spatially. The compartmentalization of burial spaces was a development likely modeled after aboveground architecture, which itself was based in a system of modularized rectangular units called *jian* 間, or bay rooms.²⁸¹ More direct evidence can be found in the architectural features, including doors and windows, that were painted or carved onto coffins and compartmental divisions, first observed in some high-ranking tombs of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, and later extended to those of the lower-ranking elite during the Han dynasty.²⁸² In addition, while the multi-chambered, vertical-pit wooden structure continued to be used for

²⁷⁹ Thote 1999, 200. Though the most extensive evidence comes from burials of the Chu cultural sphere, an example that is often used in discussing the compartmentalization of tombs, this phenomenon was present in other areas even before its instantiation among the Chu. For example, compartmentalized spaces have been found among high-ranking tombs in the region of present day southern Henan and northern Hubei as early as the eighth century BCE, and in the Shandong region as early as the seventh century BCE. See Thote 2004, 73-76.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 193-202.

²⁸¹ Laurence G. Liu, *Chinese Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1989), 27-28; on bay rooms as modularized units of architecture, see Ledderhose 2000, 111-13.

²⁸² So far, the earliest example of a compartmentalized tomb with chambers linked by doors is that of a sixth century ruler from the state of Qin at Nanzhihui, Fengxiang (Shaanxi). See Han Wei 韓偉, “Fengxiang Qin gong lingyuan zuantan yu shijue jianbao 鳳翔秦公陵園鑽探與試掘簡報,” *Wenwu* (1983.7), 30-37. For a discussion of this tomb in the context of other Eastern Zhou rulers’ tombs, see Falkenhausen 2006, 329-32.

tombs through the Han (though it gradually declined into the Eastern Han), a parallel trend developed in the Yellow River Valley region during Middle Western Han period of constructing horizontal burial spaces that were accessed on the side, in some cases through working doors and via sloped ramps.²⁸³ These spaces were created by digging a vertical pit and then excavating a horizontal chamber in which the coffin was placed. They were often lined with hollow bricks or stones and divided into multiple chambers; as early as the second century BCE, comparable structures for the nobility were hewn directly into mountains.²⁸⁴ The building techniques for these spaces were similar to those for aboveground structures—for example, they employed post and lintel construction, and barreled or vaulted ceilings²⁸⁵; some even incorporated drainage systems, and had separate spaces for toilets.²⁸⁶ Though these trends varied across regions and were often shaped according to local resources and topography, many of the developments in Han tomb architecture indicate cross-regional desires to construct mortuary settings as controlled and organized spaces that were modeled on the known, domestic sphere.

²⁸³ Wang 1982, 175-76. Lothar Von Falkenhausen has traced this horizontal type of tomb construction to Qin State burials of the fourth century BCE, located in the northwest regions. Often referred to as catacomb tombs, these structures were created through a similar process of digging vertical pits, and at the bottom, further excavating a horizontal burial space. These spaces were then partitioned off from the vertical shaft by means of wooden planks or a panel of stamped earth. Falkenhausen has examined this regional phenomenon extensively, and has compared their construction with that of local, aboveground architectural spaces, a vernacular form that exists to the present day. Indeed, in these burials can be traced some of the earliest instantiations of the new burial good categories above, including replicas of granaries and figurines modeled after humans. See Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Mortuary Behavior in Pre-Imperial Qin: A Religious Interpretation," in *Religion in Chinese Society: Volume I: Ancient and Medieval China*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press; Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004), 109-172; see also, Falkenhausen 2006, 308-09.

²⁸⁴ Hollow brick and cave chamber tombs have also been traced to tombs of the late Warring States period, the former as a regional tradition of eastern Henan, and the latter, in southern Shaanxi. Both appear to have been employed for burials of lower status individuals. See Wu 1998a, 719.

²⁸⁵ Liu Xujie, "The Qin and Han Dynasties," in *Chinese Architecture*, ed. Nancy S. Steinhardt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 58-59. For a different view of architectural advancements in tombs, which posits that masonry vaults were developed for underground structures prior to their use aboveground, see Qinghua Guo, "Tomb Architecture of Dynastic China: Old and New Questions," *Architectural History* 47 (2004), 1-24; and also, Qinghua Guo, *Chinese Architecture and Planning: Ideas, Methods, Techniques* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 2005), 37-39.

²⁸⁶ See Guo 2004, 17-22.

By constructing subterranean spaces as posthumous “homes” for the dead, the living were also positioning deceased individuals within a larger cosmological framework inherent to the design of aboveground houses.²⁸⁷ The notion of the tomb as a microcosm is evident in its square plan and round earthen mound, forms which correspond to the iconographical concepts of square Earth and round Heaven that date as early as the Neolithic periods.²⁸⁸ Objects placed with the dead also point to desires to incorporate a larger universe into ideologies of an afterlife. Concerns with cosmological positioning are suggested by the astronomical diagrams on the painted lacquer clothes box found in the fifth century BCE tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng, imagery that along with the four directional animals became common in tomb murals and relief carvings in stone during the Han. Desires to encapsulate the known and unknown universe into the space of the tomb were most famously recorded by Sima Qian in his *Shiji* with regard to the tomb of the First Emperor of Qin at Lishan, near Xi’an (Shaanxi). In addition to the myriad luxury objects, replicas of palaces, figures of guards and officials and world renown terra cotta army, the emperor’s tomb was said to contain “above...representations of all the heavenly bodies, [and] below, the features of the earth.”²⁸⁹ Additionally, the earliest map has been found in a third century BCE Qin tomb of an official at Fangmatan 放馬灘 (Gansu), along with divination manuals, or day books (*rishu*), which were guides that allowed individuals to conduct and arrange the activities of their everyday lives in accordance with the natural workings of the

²⁸⁷ Both Falkenhausen and Lewis have made this comparison: see Falkenhausen 2006, 312; Lewis 2006, 133. For a discussion of early domestic spaces as models of the cosmos, see Liu 1989, 28-29, and Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 121-47.

²⁸⁸ For a comprehensive discussion of the origins of these concepts as traced through texts, architectural design, and objects, see Lan-ying Tseng, “Picturing Heaven: Image and Knowledge in Han China,” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2001), 11-119. Though the earliest tomb mounds were rectangular earthen platforms, Lai Guolong has traced the hemispherical mound—which became common during the Han—to Chu tombs of the Warring States period. Lai 2002a, 47-48.

²⁸⁹ *Shiji* 6.24a (“Qinshihuang benji 秦始皇本紀”); translation from Watson 1993, 63.

universe.²⁹⁰ According to Lothar von Falkenhausen, placed in the tomb, these texts “may have been intended as guides enabling [the deceased] to harmonize his every postmortem action with the Way of the cosmos.”²⁹¹

A reconfiguration of how the cosmological realm was perceived, organized, and applied to the world of Man was not simply a symptom of the political, social and religious shifts taking place from the Warring States and into the Han—it was in large part a crucial factor in instituting change.²⁹² For our purposes here, these new approaches to universal order were based in a correlative system, which Aihe Wang had defined as an “orderly system of correspondence among various domains of reality in the universe, correlating categories of the human world, such as the human body, behavior, morality, the sociopolitical order, and historical changes, with categories of the cosmos, including time, space, the heavenly bodies, seasonal movement, and natural phenomena.”²⁹³ Emergent correlative cosmologies included systems based, for example, in complementary pairs, such as *yin* 陰 (moon, dark, cold, female) and *yang* 陽 (sun, light, warm, male), or fours (including the four directions or seasons) and fives (such as in the Five Phases or Elements, or *Wuxing* 五行). As Wang has described, during the last centuries of the Warring

²⁹⁰ For the brief report on this tomb, see Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Tianshui Shi Beidao Qu Wenhua Guan, “Gansu Tianshui Fangmatan Zhanguo Qin Han mu qun de fajue 甘肅天水放馬灘戰國秦漢墓群的發掘,” *Wenwu* (1989.2), 1-11, 31. For a discussion of the map found in this tomb, see He Shuangquan, “Tianshui Fangmatan Qin mu chutu ditu chu tan 天水放馬灘秦墓出土地圖初探,” *Wenwu* (1989.2), 12-22. For a discussion of maps and diagrams as a means of constructing and controlling the unknown world, see Lai 2005, 26-30. A contextualized discussion of day books found in Warring States through Han dynasty tombs can be found in Poo 1998.

²⁹¹ Falkenhausen 2006, 312.

²⁹² Several scholars have recently addressed the mutually constructive relationship between political change and the development of cosmology. See, for example, Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990); Robin D. S. Yates, “Body, Space, Time and Bureaucracy: Boundary Creation and Control Mechanisms in Early China,” in *Boundaries in China*, ed. John Hay (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 56-80; Constance Cook, “Scribes, Cook, and Artisans: Breaking Zhou Tradition,” *Early China* 20 (1995), 241-277; Aihe Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

²⁹³ Wang 2000, 2.

States period, these modes of thinking and being were increasingly utilized among religious and natural experts, bureaucrats and officials, military specialists, and scholars of the contending states for purposes of their own legitimation and were therefore instrumental in dismantling the old Zhou system of hereditary aristocracy.²⁹⁴ Moreover, by devising new techniques for communication with the ancestral realm, for example, they undermined the central authority of the Zhou King as the singular conduit through which universal forces were controlled and maintained. Eventually, all human beings were considered as enmeshed within universal schemes and therefore implicated in the fate of both the individual and the collective. As Robin Yates has explained, it was with the unification of the empire by the Qin that these underlying principles were applied uniformly with regard to all aspects of consolidating and maintaining the new empire, from its laws, land reform and the flow of information, to conceptions of the individual body in its corporeality and ritual movements in time and space.²⁹⁵ The day books found in tombs from the Qin and Han support these notions and have contributed greatly to our knowledge of this worldview, present no later than the third century BCE, which transcended class boundaries. These guidebooks were found in the tombs of officials, but as Poo Muchou has pointed out, they address a range of social groups, from officials and the military to farmers and craftsmen.²⁹⁶

Thus, mortuary contexts came to reflect and reinforce the changing social order through their design and larger symbolism. Deceased individuals among both the high and lower ranking elite were ordered, encoffined, and centered within organized burial structures that paralleled the home and summoned the cosmos, a layering of space that pointed to the body as a fundamental

²⁹⁴ Wang 2000, 77-81; see also Lewis 1990, 12, and Cook 1995.

²⁹⁵ Yates 1994.

²⁹⁶ Poo 1998; see also Wang 2000, 86-91.

unit and nexus of cosmic order. This nesting can be compared to Warring States through Western Han theorizations of space as described by Mark Edward Lewis. His overarching theme concerns the compartmentalization of space, in which “the part found meaning only within an encompassing and hence superior whole.”²⁹⁷ From the human body to the household, city, region, and finally, the world and cosmos, these units—each of which had its own internal divisions—formed a stabilizing framework whereby the maintenance of order at each level contributed to that of the whole. In this light, the design and layout of burial spaces reproduced this structure to a certain degree, imposing such spatial conceptions and in turn, the order they generated, beyond the living world.

Moreover, these notions were not confined to the final burial tableau since concerns with spatial positioning were inbuilt within rituals surrounding death. For instance, with specific reference to the corpse, Joy Beckman has noticed a pattern in the use of the character, *zheng* 正, which often means “to rectify,” in association with placement of the body. She quotes the *Li ji* for its employment of this term for conveying the proper positioning of the body upon declaration of death; it is also used in the *Yi li*’s dictates on the correct placement of the coffin-body complex between two pillars at the ancestral temple; and finally, Beckman has noticed the character in seal form on the coffin of a Warring States burial at Wangshan, which she has interpreted as a notation confirming that the coffin was properly positioned in the burial.²⁹⁸

In sum, available evidence suggests that the compartmentalization of the toiletry case began in the Chu cultural sphere of the late Warring States period, roughly concurrent with the development of the compartmentalized tomb in the same area. Both forms, consisting of boxes within boxes, present organized spaces that were intimately connected to deceased bodies.

²⁹⁷ Lewis 2006, 5.

²⁹⁸ Beckman 2006, 128-30.

Tomb structures operated on a macro-level to encase the deceased in controlled, organized spaces that reproduced a multi-tiered conceptualization of space centered on the body. Toiletry cases functioned on a micro-level as idealized embodiments of deceased individuals. They served as tools to shape and maintain the body and face as memorable and free from imperfections, and also ensured the maintenance of an ordered body into death.

3.6.3 Embodiments of Personhood

Although the type, quality and scale of material evidence speak largely to constructions of social identity in death, the previous section undertook to understand how objects could accumulate meaning when deployed in death transitions. This section proposes to go a bit further past the quantifiable and consider how toiletry items had an impact within funerary rituals when approached as occasions for grief and mourning. Specifically, in their very materiality as objects once used by deceased individuals, toiletry sets may have figured as tools of remembrance for the society of mourners.²⁹⁹ As personal items that were once used on the body and face in daily routines, toiletry items became entangled in the everyday experiences of their owners and were therefore closely linked to the biographies of individuals. As a result, these sets may have been signaled out in funerary displays for their powerful associations to the dead as materializations of memory.³⁰⁰

It must be stated that there is no way to determine with certainty whether the toiletry sets unearthed from burials were those used in life by deceased individuals. Specific other-worldly imagery as observed among the décor of some cases—most notably the Queen Mother of the

²⁹⁹ See Jones 2003.

³⁰⁰ Williams 2006, 36-78.

West—may be an indication that some toiletry case sets were made solely for burial. It is possible that, in the event that loved ones wished to keep those cases possessed in life by deceased individuals for use in aboveground, post-burial rites, some duplicate toiletry case sets were made expressly for burial (see Chapter Four). Uniformity among the contents of many sets is also an indicator, though considering the poor conditions for preservation in many regions, we can never know the original contents of all toiletry cases unearthed. Moreover, it is difficult to determine with certainty which lacquerwares in general were made for burial and which were taken from life.

There are clues within many toiletry cases, however, that suggest that they were indeed the actual possessions of the dead or purposefully filled with items strongly associated with deceased individuals. For one, there is evidence that some of the items were used previous to their placement in burial.³⁰¹ The hairs of a brush found in the toiletry case of Lady Dai had traces of red coloring, probably from rouge powder.³⁰² In another instance, a case found in the Eastern Han tomb of Wang Xu and his wives contained a thin wooden stick with a bit of black ink at the tip. The excavators of this tomb believe that this item had been used for blackening the eyebrows.³⁰³ Such signs of wear conjure the “embodied use” described above, thus linking them to individuals. Hallam and Hockey have discussed how subject/object boundaries become destabilized through consistent interaction. The mnemonic capacity of certain objects is reinforced when this occurs: material objects become extensions of the body and in turn, of the personhood of the subject.³⁰⁴ In other words, these manifestations of the intimate relationship

³⁰¹ It is possible that these items were also used in preparing the corpse for burial, though there is no evidence to confirm that cosmetics were employed as part of these rites.

³⁰² Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Zhongguo Kexue Yuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1973, Vol. 1, 129.

³⁰³ Harada and Tazawa 1930, 37.

³⁰⁴ Hallam and Hockey 2001, 14, 42-43.

between object and person, if visible during the funerary ceremonies, may have impressed upon viewers (especially those who had a close relationship to the deceased) visual or even sensory memories of the deceased.

While enclosed in a box, evidence indicates that in some instances, individual contents were recorded separately, after which they would have been made known to an audience of mourners during the ritual reading of burial inventories. This was the case, for example, for the funerals of Lady Dai and her son at Mawangdui.³⁰⁵ In this light, the toiletry cases themselves should not be approached as standardized sets among inventories, but rather as containers for a collection of objects that varied with the needs of each individual. With this in mind, the announcement of varying combinations of substances and objects may have articulated specific individuals.

Moreover, a strong sense of personalized curation of items found in some cases is evidenced through inclusion of trinkets unrelated to practices of beautification. While many cases contained a standard set of implements, including mirrors, comb sets, and cosmetic powders, a perusal of Appendices A through C reveals that a host of other interesting and curious items were also found among contents. The presence of such items suggests that these cases could function as both containers for toiletry items and storage for personal keepsakes or other small, loose items that might easily be lost. We have already examined some of the personalizing items found in the toiletry cases of Lady Dai and her son at Mawangdui (see

³⁰⁵ In the tomb of Lady Dai's son, smaller boxes were listed separately and with contents specified. For example, two small rounded boxes were tallied as "two round baskets containing lavender oil 員(圓)付簍二盛蘭膏" (strip 264); three other boxes were listed as "three small baskets, containing rouge, one with combs 小付簍三盛脂其一盛節(栳)" (strip 263). See Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2004, 149-152 (short explanations of how to translate these characters into Modern Chinese are found in the ordered transcription of the strips on page 65 of the report). For the toiletry case of Lady Dai, items such as the brush (129), hair extensions (89), combs (120), silk mirror sac and needle bags (72), and mirror wipe (72) were all listed separately on the inventories (numbers in parentheses refer to page numbers in Volume one of the report, Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Zhongguo Kexue Yuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1973).

Chapter Two). In addition to these examples, a box found in Western Han tomb no. 1 at Dafentou (Hubei) included a jade *bi* disc, an object contemporary to the Han period, but also one imbued with profound symbolic and historical significance [C:22b].³⁰⁶ As will be discussed below, jade held a variety of meanings in mortuary contexts. Here, however, enclosed in a box, this item may have been of personal value or significance to its owner, or treasured and appreciated for its ancient origins. Other instances of non-toiletry items suggest different personal or even professional interests. A toiletry case of a Western Han official buried at Fenghuangshan (Hubei) contained a collection of bamboo items, including slips, a thin tube, and a shovel-shaped object [C:7a].³⁰⁷ These were probably related to various scholars' tools found elsewhere in his tomb, including implements for writing, an ink slab, and other bamboo slips. Additionally, a rectangular box from a late Western Han tomb at Rizhao (Shandong) held combs, a bronze brush, and an attachment (弦柱) for the strings of a zither.³⁰⁸ Still, other examples enclosed unidentifiable objects, as in the exquisite, two-leveled rectangular toiletry case unearthed from the late Western Han royal tomb at Tangjialing (Hunan), where in addition to iron pincers, knives, and three finger rings, there was found a set of tubular, semi-spherical, and egg-shaped stone objects [C:28a].³⁰⁹ While the purpose or use for these latter items remains unclear, they may have provided funerary audiences with a particularized material link to their owner. In all of these examples, we find a variety of objects—some of which lend themselves to interpretation and others that remain enigmatic—that suggest individual biographies of their

³⁰⁶ See Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1981.

³⁰⁷ See Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, "Jiangling Fenghuangshan yiliuba hao Han mu 江陵鳳凰山一六八號漢墓," *Kaogu Xuebao* (1993.4), 455-513.

³⁰⁸ There is no report for this tomb, but it is featured in Guojia Wenwu ju, ed., *Zhongguo Zhongyao Kaogu Faxian: 2002*, 中國重要考古發現: 2000 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2003), 77.

³⁰⁹ Hunan Sheng Bowuguan, "Changsha Tangjialing Xi Han mu qingli baogao 長沙湯家嶺西漢墓清理報告," *Kaogu* (1966.4), 181-188,

owners that may have been recognized and signaled out for what they recaptured about deceased individuals.

In sum, in this section, I have considered toiletry case sets and their role throughout the second part of the funerary rituals. Part of visual displays alongside other burial goods, toiletry cases were discussed as objects that would have signaled the high social status of deceased individuals through both their lavish decoration and their function as articles used in practices of beautification. In addition, if we consider the structure, organization and function of toiletry case sets, they can be compared with the layouts and larger symbolism of burial structures themselves—both represented different ways of maintaining the order of the body in death. Finally, while detailed ritual texts and the abundance and variety of articles placed in tombs indicate that funerary rituals were largely orchestrated to reflect or aggrandize the social status of the deceased, they were also occasions for grief, mourning, and remembrance. From this perspective, and as items that possessed an intimate connection to the deceased, toiletry case sets may have also been signaled out as maintainers of individual identity, referencing the body and face as both corporeal and personalized.

These ideas inform us of some of the motivations and rationalizations of why toiletry case sets, during the Qin and Han dynasties, were placed directly in the inner coffins of deceased individuals. In the following section, I will discuss this change in position from the perspective of the funerary rituals and as contextualized within further changes in burial goods, as well as emergent cosmologies.

3.7 TOILETRY CASE SETS AND THE COFFIN-BODY COMPLEX

As discussed in the previous section, the visibility of toiletry case sets throughout the second half of the funerary rites was due to their consignment within the outer encasements of burials, a custom that was practiced when these sets were first introduced to burial inventories, and one which continued throughout the succeeding Qin and Han dynasties. Beginning in the Qin and increasing in frequency during the Han period, however, a parallel practice developed in which toiletry case sets were placed in the inner coffins along with the body of the deceased. Considering both the temporal and spatial sequence of the funerary rites as described above, this change in position indicates that in these instances, toiletry case sets were deployed during the first phase of the funerary rituals when the living focused on preparation and memorialization of the physical body. In this section, I will discuss some possible motivations behind this alternative placement.

Table 3. Placement of Toiletry Case Sets in Tombs: Qin through Eastern Han

	Within the Inner coffin	Outside the Inner Coffin	Unknown
Qin [Appendix B]	7/26* (27%)	11/26 (42%)	8/26 (31%)
Western Han [Appendix C]	32/86 (37%)	34/86 (40%)	20/86 (23%)
Eastern Han [Appendix D]	5/17 (29%)	7/17 (41%)	5/17 (29%)

* Number of burials for each period corresponds to listings in the Appendices.

Table 3 shows that twenty-seven percent of the burials in this study dating to the Qin dynasty contained toiletry case sets within the inner coffin. That value increases to thirty-seven percent for burials of the Western Han period. While future archaeological finds may affect this picture, present evidence suggests that this phenomenon began in the Hubei region during the Qin period. This remains consistent with the more ample evidence from the Han dynasty, rough dates of which suggest that the phenomenon continued in Hubei and spread south into Hunan

and north into Hebei and Shandong. Tombs assigned to the mid-Western Han reveal a particular concentration of tombs in the Jiangsu, Anhui and Shandong regions where this practice was common. By the Eastern Han period, when the value decreases to twenty-nine percent, we observe this phenomenon in the far reaches of the empire, including sites in Gansu and Yunnan.

Toiletry cases were placed within the inner coffins of men and women alike, as well as those of couples.³¹⁰ The development of burials as inner coffins with outer encasements, and their further compartmentalization from the middle Zhou and into the Han enabled the separation of accompanying goods by type, but also underscored distinctions between items placed on or near the corpse in the inner coffin and those deposited elsewhere. For example, one of the earliest instances is tomb no. 11 at Yunmeng, Shuihudi 雲夢睡虎地 (Hubei) [B:5b].³¹¹ The occupant of this burial has been identified as a minor official of the Qin government named, Xi 喜, who died at around forty-five years of age. His wooden burial structure comprised compartments for his coffin and accompanying grave goods, which included mainly pottery and lacquer vessels for dining and bamboo storage cases. In his coffin, Xi was found wearing hempen shoes and had a silk cap at his side. Two brush pens and a bamboo tube were also placed next to his body, and small agate rings were found about his torso, neck and head. In addition, over eleven hundred inscribed bamboo slips surrounded his body, and a toiletry case set rested near his head. Among the collection of bamboo slips found in this burial were two versions of the day books, or divination manuals, described in the previous section.

³¹⁰ Joint burials in which two coffins were placed within the same pit emerged during the Han period. Burials in which toiletry case sets were found in each of the two associated coffins have been found in present-day Jiangsu (Yaozhuang no. 101, Pingshan Yangzichan no. 3, Xuchi Dongyang no. 7, and Lianyungang), Hubei (Gaotai no. 28), Hebei (Sanfengou no. 9), and Shandong (Zhucheng). For an outline of the history of the joint burial in China, see Han Guohe 韓國河, “Shilun Han Jin shiqi hezang lisu de yuanyuan ji fazhan 試論漢晉時期合葬禮制的淵源及發展,” *Kaogu* (1999.10), 69-78.

³¹¹ Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin Mu Bianxiezu, eds., *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin Mu* 雲夢睡虎地秦墓 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1981).

Toiletry case sets placed in the coffins of deceased individuals in burials of the Qin and Han bear no obvious differences stylistically or with regard to contents with those that were placed in the outer encasements. Since they were the personal, intimate possessions of the deceased, their inclusion in the coffin may have simply been a matter of preference, either of the mourners or as previously requested by the deceased. As personal possessions of the deceased, it is also possible that these toiletries were employed in death preparations—having come in contact with the deceased body, they would have been deemed polluted. Thus, they may have been enclosed in the coffin with the deceased as a way of maintaining the distinction between the worlds of the living and the dead.

3.7.1 Dressing the Dead

From another perspective, toiletry case sets may be interpreted in terms of social identity as represented through the body. A tradition of ornamenting the dead with objects that referred to status or rank is one that can be traced back to the Neolithic periods in China. As noted above, bodies were transitioned into death through preparations that simultaneously maintained social status through material accoutrements and recognized death by the addition of bindings, wrappings, and objects for protection. As Jonathan Hay and others have noted, the body in early China was inherently social³¹², and so dressing the body with items of rank was, in a sense, completing the body in death. Thus, in preparing the official, Xi, the living reconstructed his identity through the symbols and markers of his trade: a silk cap, scholars' pens, and his library

³¹² Jonathan Hay, "The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?" in *Body, Subject, and Power in China*, eds. Tani Barlow and Angela Zito (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 62; see also Lewis 2006, 76.

of texts. His toiletry case set, complete with wooden combs and a bronze mirror, may have contributed to this picture of his official lifestyle.

Moreover, the divination manuals found along with Xi suggest that he—whether consciously or not—was part of the emergent class of officials and statesmen who espoused beliefs that the human body was implicated in universal schemes of order. Like those discussed in the previous section, his toiletry case set may have represented the maintenance of bodily order in death. As part of his accoutrements in the coffin, however, rather than provoking the extension of that order, Xi's toiletry items directly inscribed it into the body as the coffin lid was closed and his new identity as ancestor began to form. This is underscored by the notion of the *jiu*, the components of which—the body and its accompanying ornaments and items, the coffin, and the name banner—were fused together as part of a reconstruction of the identity of the deceased for death.

3.7.2 Parting with the Dead

These interpretations take as their focus the deceased body in death. Howard Williams reminds us, however, that treatment of the body influences the way that funerals are experienced by the living as occasions for effecting transition and commemoration.³¹³ Specifically, rituals of cleansing, clothing, positioning and ornamenting the corpse, as well as the items placed in its close proximity, all affect both the body of the deceased *and* the living community participating in the rites. Thus, when we consider treatment of the corpse in death, we must be mindful that such acts were designed by and had an impact on the living.

³¹³ Williams 2006, 81.

Indeed, if we consider the initial phase of the funerary rites in juxtaposition to what followed, the vast differences between the two are thrown into relief. In the first phase, the immediacy of death would have been palpable as it was declared, and the body bathed, prepared and encoffined, all within the first few days. According to the ideal dictates of the *Yi li* and the *Li ji*, for the rites of a Great officer and ordinary officer, the Master of Ceremonies (or principal mourner, i.e. eldest son of the first wife of the deceased) knelt on the east side of the deceased, while his wife knelt opposite. Within the room, male near relations with official positions stood to the east, and their wives and other female near relations positioned themselves to the west. Others, including family members who had not achieved official position, were to stand outside the room, facing north.³¹⁴ These mourners arrived upon declaration of death to offer condolences and gifts, and many may have remained present during the two stages of dressing the corpse. It was within this short space of time that close family members and colleagues spent their final moments with the visible, physical body as lifeless corpse, dressed and bound for death. Moreover, these rites were confined to the intimate, enclosed space of the home. By contrast, the duration of the second phase of the funerary rites was variable and likely much longer than the first. At this point, the physical body was no longer visible, but instead dispersed among a growing assemblage of material objects. Multitudes of people were allowed to encounter the coffin, and as the rites of interment commenced, they proceeded outdoors in the open landscape. Regarding the two phases of the rites in this way underscores the different nature of the mourners' experiences.

Indeed, as described above, the wrapping of the corpse during the Greater Dressing was a ceremonious and emotional event whereby mourners had the opportunity to personally

³¹⁴ *Yili zhushu* 35.765-766 ("Shisangli"); *Liji zhengyi* 44.1445-1446 ("Sangdaji").

contribute to the preparation of the deceased body. Moreover, in this process, they would have witnessed the gradual effacement of their loved one as the body was obscured beneath a cocoon of layered garments. During the Han period, gifts offered in death, which reinforced social relationships but also may have served to protect and comfort the deceased in the afterlife, were articulated through lists on wooden tablets placed in the coffin, as has been found in tomb no. 101 at Yizheng Xupu 儀征胥浦 (Jiangsu). In addition, a written will was found alongside this record. It names six dependents and lists their inheritances as well as the transfer of land rights.³¹⁵ In the same region, wooden tablets were also employed to convey wishes to the dead. One such message was found along with a pile of coins in the western coffin of a double-occupant tomb at Xuchi 盱眙 (no. 7, Jiangsu). Peppered with terms of respect, a deceased mother and father are presented to the spirit world with hopes that they will receive good fortune in the afterlife.³¹⁶ These examples indicate the heightened emotions that may have been felt in those last moments before the coffin lid was permanently closed, when communication between the living and the dead may have simultaneously enabled one last moment of intimacy and reinforced the reality of death.

The placement of toiletry items in the coffin may have also figured in this way. Both coffins of tomb no. 7 at Xuchi contained toiletry case sets [C:60a-b]. Though largely deteriorated, they may have looked like that in tomb no. 01 [C:61], which was located in the same cemetery and of similar structure and dimensions. This toiletry case contained seven smaller boxes, as well as a bronze mirror, wooden comb set, bronze brush, and other items that are not specified in the brief report. During these emotionally-charged moments of the funerary

³¹⁵ Yangzhou Bowuguan 1987, 11-13.

³¹⁶ For brief report, see Nanjing Bowuguan, “Jiangsu Xuchi Dongyang Han mu 江蘇盱眙東陽漢墓,” *Kaogu* (1979.5), 412-426.

rites, placement of these intimate belongings in the coffin may have, like the garments and written tracts, presented a means by which the living could begin to part with the deceased. These moments can be compared to the way the set of bone toiletry items in the Shang dynasty burial of Fu Hao may have figured as a final gesture of personal detachment.

3.7.3 Preserving the Dead

In considering toiletry case sets as placed in the coffin, we have seen how they refer to past identities and the ways in which they may have affected those present during the funerary rites, but we should also consider more closely how they gestured toward the future of the corpse. I have until now approached the ornamentation on toiletry cases primarily for what it reflects about these sets as luxury items used by an elite. The nature of imagery found on many toiletry cases, however, played an active role in constructing the world of the afterlife. In this section, I consider toiletry cases stylistically within larger themes of burials of the Han, and then contextualize their placement in coffins in light of new ways for preparing the corpse in death that emerged within this context.

The ornamental schemes on the toiletry case from Western Han tomb no. 01 at Xuchi discussed above are representative of a wave of new imagery depicting otherworldly domains that characterize burials beginning in the Han. In addition to the conspicuous metallic mounts and large bronze four-petalled motif, the body of the vessel is covered with an expanse of black lacquer and swirling vermillion clouds, wafting among which are silver foil animals rendered in silhouette. Animals, beasts, and serpents began occupy a prominent position among the imagery of toiletry cases and other vessels, as well as carvings and murals that were incorporated into tomb structures of the Western Han period. Those of the cardinal directions—the dragon (east),

tiger (west), bird (south), and tortoise (north)—which had begun to appear in burials earlier, were now joined by other animals, such as deer, rabbits, and rams, as well as a host of imaginary creatures, including hybrid beasts and animals with multiple limbs. Some of these animals and creatures were intended as guardians or vehicles by which deceased individuals would be conveyed into the afterworld. For example, a mural painted on the ceiling of the early Western Han tomb of Bu Qianqiu and his wife shows the deceased couple being transported on the backs of a three-headed bird and serpent toward a majestic figure perched on a cloud, most likely the goddess of immortality, the Queen Mother of the West.³¹⁷ During the Western Han, she, along with these imaginary animals and the nine-tailed fox, rabbit and toad pictured alongside them, was believed to dwell in the mountains of the Western regions, and by journeying to her domain, one could obtain the drug of immortality that she produced.³¹⁸ Mountains also figure prominently in painted or carved imagery and in the form of censors; they have even been found on coffins, as in the second nested coffin of Lady Dai from Mawangdui. These mountains may have been a reference to the Queen Mother and her land of immortality, where other winged and feathered beings resided, or a more generalized nexus, or axis-mundi to the next world.

This panoply of subject matter can, in fact, be observed on many toiletry cases of the Han, most notably examples found in each coffin of a couple's tomb at Yaozhuang (Jiangsu, [C:44e,c]). Though not remarkable in size—the male occupant's measured 22.5 (diam.) x 14.5 (height), while the female's was 21 (diam.) x 13 (height)—these two cases exhibit exceptionally

³¹⁷ For the brief report of this tomb, see Luoyang Bowuguan, "Luoyang Xi Han Bu Qianqiu bihuamu fajue jianbao 洛陽西漢卜千秋壁畫墓發掘簡報," *Wenwu* (1977.6), 1-12.

³¹⁸ The Queen Mother of the West has been the subject of many studies, including those that focus on her origins and also her significance in later periods. Wu Hung (1989, 110-41) has discussed the iconography of the Queen Mother within mortuary contexts of the Han. More recently, Elfriede R. Knauer has synthesized most scholarship on the Queen Mother and provided visual evidence for Western origins of her iconography. See Elfriede R. Knauer, "The Queen Mother of the West: A Study of the Influence of Western Prototypes on the Iconography of a Taoist Deity," in *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World*, ed. Victor Mair (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 62-115.

meticulous ornamentation composed of intricately-cut, thin sheets of gold and silver foil pressed against a background of black lacquer. Within the decorative registers that encircle the covers of these vessels, they form landscapes composed of clouds that surge to form mountains, where strange, mushroom-like plants grow—perhaps the fungus used by the Queen Mother to make her coveted elixirs. These panoramas are inhabited by frolicking animals, winged figures praying and engaging in cosmic board games, and humans, who ride animals and chariots, hunt and listen to music. Similarly ornamented cases have been found in other parts of the Jiangsu region, but this subject matter was also used as décor for cases in many other parts of the empire [C:62a], including Shandong, Hubei—examples of which exhibit a particularly fluid and dynamic style of rendering otherworldly beings [C:7a]—and Hunan, where tiny gold foil figures have been found among the remains of lacquer vessels, some of which were likely toiletry cases.

Common among this décor on toiletry cases and imagery within the larger sphere of the burial is an overt sense of movement. This is observed stylistically in the thin, swirling lines that form cloud-filled expanses; in other instances, heavy lines undulate into landscapes where animals and figures are rendered active, running, fleeing, flying or dancing. Movement is also indicated in the otherworldly settings, which may have been illustrative of a vast and dynamic firmament located far from the present world, places reached on the backs of strange creatures, by chariot, or via tall mountains. In short, within the tomb, toiletry cases became enfolded within programs that communicated desires to advance one's existence toward that of the immortals.

We also see these desires manifest in the treatment of the corpse in some Han period burials. Specifically, attempts to preserve the body in death through material means can be detected in new items placed on or around the corpse, developments roughly contemporary with

the inclusion of toiletry case sets within the inner coffin. In what follows, I will outline some of the ideas that have been presented about ideological changes concerning items within the inner coffins of Han burials.

Most attention has been focused on jade items and the developments in their use and symbolism that are evident from the Western Zhou and into the Han. Indeed, its rarity in nature, qualities of durability and endurance, translucence when fashioned from coarse stone into thin plaques and elegant forms, and the intensity of labor required for such transformations all contributed to the multiple layers of meaning and significances of jade in social and ritual life, and also in death, as early as the Neolithic periods.³¹⁹ Into the Western Zhou period, pendants and beads were worn as ornaments in life; small objects and plaques could be exchanged to reinforce social status and relations; and these items, along with rounded *bi* discs were placed on the body in death to perpetuate social rank and ritual power.³²⁰ Jade likely also accumulated meaning in contexts of death. For example, as pointed out by Joy Beckman, *bi* discs in particular, which were round in form and perforated at the center, and often placed in and around the periphery of the coffin, appear to have been significant as symbols of death transition.³²¹

Jessica Rawson has noted that the meticulous assemblages of small jade objects and plaques that were arranged as covers for the faces of the high-ranking dead, which make their earliest appearances in Western Zhou burials, are the first signal that jade had accumulated significance as protective in death.³²² However, burials as early as the Neolithic present bodies

³¹⁹ Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995); Wu Hung, "The Prince of Jade Revisited: The Material Symbolism of Jade as Observed in Mancheng Tombs," in *Chinese Jades*, ed. Rosemary Scott (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1997), 147-69; Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade: From the Neolithic to the Qing* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1995), 13-53

³²⁰ Rawson 1995, 13-53.

³²¹ Beckman 2006, 146-55.

³²² *Ibid.*, 50-53.

blanketed with jade items, which suggests that overlaying ideas of protection in death could have been a motivation much earlier. Interestingly, while in all pre-Han examples, jade was placed *on* the body and face, a significant development emerges in the Han in which jade objects were inserted *into* bodily orifices in a manner that suggests that they were intended to plug the body's entrances and exits. The best-known of these sets were found in the bodies of the Western Han royal prince of the kingdom of Zhongshan (Hebei), Liu Sheng 劉勝, and his wife, Dou Wan, whose nine orifices (his eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, anus and sex organ) were sealed by specially formed jade pieces.³²³ These plugs simultaneously protected bodily orifices from evil influence and decay, and may have also ensured that the soul could not part with its corporeal self, thus preserving the body in its essential vitality. Moreover, the bodies of each were found outfitted with full suits of jade. Liu Sheng's suit, for example, consisted of 2, 498 small flat jade plaques sewn together with gold thread. These suits were covered further with jade objects, and then enclosed in coffins ornamented with jade. As Wu Hung has reasoned, while traditional burial practices were devoted to protecting the corpse by wrapping, securing and binding it in layers of silk, this new notion of sealing and encasing the body in jade suggests a link between its metaphorical qualities and emergent ideologies of immortality.³²⁴ Indeed, by enveloping bodies in jade, the durability and permanence associated with the material may have been intended as an aid to extending the corporeal presence of the dead indefinitely. This can be compared with the use of gold leaf on coffins in New Kingdom Egypt, which was valued both for its associations to divine flesh and as a material that never corroded. For the Egyptians, gold carried "the double promise that the fleshed body remains incorruptible after death..."³²⁵

³²³ Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Yuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1980, 139-40, 295.

³²⁴ Wu 1997.

³²⁵ Meskell and Joyce 2003, 134.

Toiletry cases sets have been found in association with these jade suits. One was found in the back chamber to the rock-cut tomb of Liu Sheng, near his body [C:77], and originally within the inner coffin of Dou Wan [C:78b]. Specifically, when discovered, her toiletry case was found resting on the right leg of her jade body.³²⁶ Though greatly deteriorated, its exquisite metallic ornamentation indicates that it was once a five-box case wrapped in silk. Its body was inlaid with registers of gold and silver geometric patterns and open, mountainous landscapes occupied by serpentine creatures and feathered beings. The cover has a large four-petalled motif that was once set with agate and turquoise stones. Inside were five, similarly ornamented boxes along with a bronze mirror and a bundle of ring-headed knives. Toiletry case sets were also found at the head of another imperial body of the Zhongshan Kingdom, likewise clothed in a jade suit and sealed with jade plugs.³²⁷ In this instance, two cases with metallic mounts and gold foil designs were placed at each side of the head of the occupant [C:78a-b], and another similarly ornamented seven-box case was situated near his left leg [C:79c].

While these jade suits were exclusive to members of the ruling Liu family, jade plugs were not, and in instances of the high and middle ranking elite, they have been found in conjunction with toiletry case sets. For example, the female occupant of tomb no. 1 at Laixi (Shandong) was found with a set of earplugs, nose plugs, and a jade anus plug in addition to various small stone ornaments, wooden sticks, two hairpins with painted designs, a string of pearls, a jade *bi* disc, and a three-box toiletry case with two sets of wooden combs and a bronze

³²⁶ Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Yuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1980, 300-02.

³²⁷ For brief report, see Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1981.

mirror [C:71]. Such combinations have also been found in several tombs in the region of Jiangsu, and others in Hebei.³²⁸

In addition to assemblages covering the face and jade plugs, other items placed in the coffin alongside toiletry cases point to the face or the head as a focus of burial preparations. For example, in what may be a local phenomenon centering in the Jiangsu region, some burials contain large lacquered boxes that were placed over the head.³²⁹ There is little mention of these curious boxes, or face covers (*mianzhao* 面罩) in texts, though the biography of Huo Guang recorded in the *Hanshu* mentions that mirrors were fixed inside, a feature that has been corroborated by archaeology, though glass *bi* discs have also been found attached to interiors.³³⁰ Openings in the walls of these boxes are suggestive of entrances or exits for the soul, but such conclusions remain speculative. Because mirrors have been specified in texts as part of these

³²⁸ Those in Jiangsu: Yaozhuang tomb no. 101 (female coffin) [C:44d-e], Pingshan Yangzhichang (male coffin) [C:48b], and Siyang Chendun tomb no. 1 (female coffin) [C:62a]; Hebei: Sanfengou tomb no 9 (female coffin) [C:76a]. Jade plugs were also found in tomb no. 28 at Jinqieshan. While no toiletry case was found in this tomb, wooden combs and a hairpin were also found near the head of the deceased. See Linyi Shi Bowuguan 1989, 24, fig. 5.

³²⁹ For burials with facecovers and toiletry case sets, see C:44, 45, 47, 60.

³³⁰ Face covers enclose the head on three sides and are open at the neck. Some are plain, but others exhibit the same rhythmic cloud patterns that can be found on toiletry cases and other lacquerwares. As seen in Figure 33, the rounded opening on the bottom two sides is presumably to allow for a lacquered pillow to rest under the head of the deceased. Another, squared opening commonly found on the back wall is occasionally flanked by painted guardians. Though a passage in the *Hanshu* biography of Huo Guang links these objects to only the highest-ranking among the elite, those unearthed have been found in burials of middle and lower ranking officials. For the biography of Huo Guang, see *Hanshu* 68 (“Huo Guang Liezhuan”). Li Zebin has discussed face covers for the Yangzhou region of Jiangsu, the only area where they have been uncovered, though Sun Ji has suggested that the royal burial (tomb no. 40) at Ding Xian also once had such a covering, as evidenced by mirrors found both on top and behind the head of the deceased. Sun 2008, 472. See also Li Zebin 李則斌, *Han Guangling Guo Qi qi* 漢廣陵國漆器 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2004), 11.

Face covers have been found with toiletry cases in tomb nos. 101 and 102 at Yaozhuang, and in tomb no. 1 at Pingshan Yangzhichang, all in the present-day Jiangsu region. There is no uniformity among these coverings. Those at Yaozhuang tomb no. 101 (found in each inner coffin of this joint burial) are richly ornamented and contain three mirrors attached on the interior with polished side facing out toward the head of the deceased. The head covering at Pingshan Yangzhichang tomb no. 1, which was painted with plain lacquer, also had three mirrors on the interior, but their decorated surface faced the deceased. At Yaozhuang tomb no. 102, no mirrors were found with the head covering, which was placed in the coffin of the female occupant. For more on these face covers, see Gao Wei 高偉, “Han Dai Qi Mianzhang Tanyuan 漢代漆面罩探源,” *Dongnan Wenhua* (1997.4), 37-41; and Carol Michaelson, “Han Dynasty Chinese Glass Plaques in the British Museum,” *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 63 (1998-99), 55-59.

devices, one scholar has suggested that they were intended to provide light to the deceased in death.³³¹

Indeed, a great deal has been written about the significance of mirrors in burials, including their utility as generators of light and as talismans. When found in the toiletry case, they have been interpreted for their practical function as toiletry items. Most scholarship, however, has focused on the intricate décor of their unpolished surfaces. As has been described for other developments in the mortuary sphere, the mirror's form (round as a symbol of Heaven) and decor exhibit an increasing interest in natural and celestial order by marking the cardinal directions and in some cases, mapping the complex structure of the universe.³³² Most importantly, their proximity to the body in mortuary contexts—when not in the toiletry case of the inner coffin, they are often still positioned at the heads of deceased individuals—indicates some ideological connection, which in fact, probably comprised multiple meanings associated with the formal and practical attributes of mirrors. Following studies of jade objects in early burials, Kenneth Brashier has proposed that we also look beyond the shape and design of mirrors and consider the significance of their metallic medium within death contexts.³³³ By providing textual evidence, including mirror inscriptions, Brashier makes the case that both stone *and* metal were valued for their physical properties as metaphors for longevity. He therefore views mirrors as mnemonic devices used to commemorate the social identity of deceased individuals in death.

If we consider all of the evidence discussed above together, some preliminary conclusions can be drawn about the ideological significance of toiletry case sets to contexts of

³³¹ Sun 2008, 472.

³³² Schulten 2001, 51-72.

³³³ Brashier 1995, 201-229.

death. To begin, I discussed developments in the imagery of the mortuary realm that point to emergent desires to achieve immortality in death. Specifically within the coffin, preparation of the deceased indicates that into the Han period, in addition to reconstructing the social identity of the dead and providing protection against evil influences in death, new ways of preparing the body suggest desires to preserve its corporeal integrity through symbolic uses of jade. Whereas preservation of the body in other cultural contexts, including Pazyryk as mentioned above and New Kingdom Egypt, where bodies were embalmed and mummified, was initiated from within and required modification in death through violation of its surfaces, processes in early China were focused exclusively on the body's exterior.³³⁴ As mentioned in Chapter Two, physical wholeness was an important moral value since the body was a physical link to one's mother and father. Any alteration of the body's surfaces—cutting the hair, tattooing the body—were considered a grave disrespect to one's parents and ancestors. Thus, attempts to preserve the body in death involved processes of layering and symbolic association through proximity.

Certain burial goods in the coffin also point to the face as a focus in death preparations. As Jonathan Hay has noted, "One obvious embodiment of humanity is in the face, which is relatively large and dominant in the figure as a whole."³³⁵ Mirrors, through their practical use in reifying one's visage and symbolic associations with longevity and memory may have emphasized the face as a focus of memory construction.

Within this context, toiletry items can also be considered for both their practical and symbolic associations. Through imagery that suggests transition and desires for immortality, toiletry case sets were implicated in larger ideologies of death emergent into the Han. Like the items discussed above, their placement within the inner coffins of deceased individuals points to

³³⁴ Meskell and Joyce 2003, 129.

³³⁵ Hay 1994, 52.

maintenance of the body, and particularly the face, within contexts of death. As tools used in practices of beautification, moreover, toiletry items contributed to the physical perfection of the body and face, and were often employed to erase the signs of aging. Like jade, cosmetics were applied to the body in layers, and therefore may have also played a role in sustaining the body in its corporeality. And finally, as discussed above, as tools intimately connected to the body, they contributed to the creation of memory in their reference to physical parts of the body and face, and through use, to specific individuals.

3.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has explored the ways in which toiletry case sets may have been linked to the preparation and transformation of the corpse during the first and second phases of the funerary rites. Rather than viewing these sets only as items reflective of social identity, I have traced their position in the grave and appearance throughout the rites and considered how they may have been meaningful to both the dead and the living.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the increasing popularity of placing toiletry case sets with the dead was part of larger changes taking place in the way that the living conceived of the realm beyond death. Dramatic transformations in the structure and content of burials after the late Warring States period indicate developing ideologies of an afterworld, an idealized and embellished version of the world of the living that referred back to and forefronted individual identity at the expense of the larger ancestral lineage. As the inclusion of toiletry sets and other items of adornment indicate, the social body was a central component of this world, a notion that is not often emphasized in considerations of new burial good categories.

Close examination of the form, décor and contents of toiletry case sets reinforces our understanding of the importance of the social and the ordered body in death, both physically and metaphorically. In addition, consideration of the placement of toiletry case sets within burial layouts has called attention to the intricacies of their deployment in funerary rituals, and the potential for everyday objects to accumulate meaning when transferred from contexts of life to those of death. Moreover, the close connection of toiletries and personal items to the body, and even individuals, has provided an avenue other than textual accounts through which we are reminded of the emotional dimension of the funerary rituals in early China. Whether as personified vestiges of the encoffined corpse viewed during the second phase of the rituals, or potent extensions of deceased individuals incorporated within the coffin-body complex as composed during the first phase, the materiality and visibility of the toiletry case set within these heightened contexts of mourning may have fortified visual and embodied memories of the departed. To be sure, as described in this chapter, toiletry case sets encapsulated a significant facet of the embodied lives of their owners and were bound up in personal biographies, an aspect particularly accessed through the additional, non-toiletry items storied inside. They were thus the recipient objects of “inscribing” practices of memory-storage as described by Paul Connerton.³³⁶ Deployed in funerary rituals by others, those memories then became “incorporated” into the larger domain of social memory or, at the individual level, the personal memories of close kin.

Moreover, with reference to their inclusion in the inner coffin, statistics demonstrate that rituals were not as rigid as proscriptive texts indicate, and that subtle changes in object placement were likely determined according choices made by the living. A concentration of Han burials

³³⁶ Connerton 1989, 72-73.

where toiletry cases were placed in the inner coffins of deceased individuals among sites in present-day Jiangsu and Shandong suggests, however, that these changes were not always random, but could also be dictated by regional trends.

From another perspective, this transfer of the toiletry case set to the inner coffin underscores developments in ideologies of death that become evident into the Han dynasty. As described in the last section of this chapter, attempts to metaphorically preserve the corporeal body through its increasing association with items of jade and metal may reflect beliefs that the sustenance of the body was directly related to the fate of the soul, a notion that will be discussed in the following chapter. Desires to achieve immortality after death are indicated through tomb décor that not only mirrors the living world, but also merges with a realm that is specifically otherworldly, characterized by clouded landscapes, inhabited by winged figures and hybrids, and filled with celestial and cosmic symbols that serve to extend both space and time. These very elements are often depicted on the walls of the toiletry case. Placed in the coffin in intimate association with the body, these sets fused notions of the otherworldly and eternal with the youthful and ageless appearance that could be achieved by use of the items inside. In the following chapter, I continue this open inquiry of toiletry items by contextualizing these sets within post-burial contexts both below and aboveground.

4.0 TOILETRY CASE SETS WITHIN AND BEYOND THE GRAVE: RELATIONSHIPS TO THE SOUL AND THE MOURNERS

Robert Hertz identified within Indonesian death rituals “...a kind of symmetry or parallelism between the condition of the body, which has to wait a certain time before it can enter its final tomb, and the condition of the soul, which will be properly admitted into the land of the dead only when the last funeral rites are accomplished.”³³⁷ As items with a very personal connection to the body and the individual, toiletry case sets may have been significant on a number of levels—depending on where they were placed in the grave—with regard to the fate of the soul during each phase of the rituals. As described in Chapter Three, when part of the assemblage of grave goods in the burial’s outer encasement, toiletry items worked with other goods to characterize the dead socially and reformulate a new ancestral identity. When placed in the inner coffin, they may have served to sustain the corporeal body as a precondition to the creation and maintenance of the soul. In each scenario, the significance of toiletry items transcended their practical function. They were activated during the funerary rituals to initiate the next phase of the life of the deceased.

In this chapter, I will examine toiletry case sets in their extended existences both below and aboveground, where they continued to serve the dead and influence the living. Specifically, the first part of this chapter will describe some of the ways in which toiletry case sets were

³³⁷ Hertz [1960] 2009, 45.

highlighted in underground contexts designed to cater to the soul, and the second part will consider how they figured aboveground in post-burial rites and contexts.

4.1 PART ONE: TOILETRY ITEMS AND THE SOUL

In Chapter Three I contextualized toiletry case sets within changes in burial goods placed in tombs and considered how they may have figured along with differing assemblages of items during the different phases of the funerary rituals for an audience of the living. In this section, I will examine some ways that they were deliberately configured within the tomb layout for the benefit of the soul. First, however, I will describe conceptions of the soul in early China and the relationship of the dead to the living.

Rituals of soul-calling that were completed after the deceased took their last breaths indicate attempts to recapture the vitality of the body before death was formally recognized. Both the *Yi li* and the *Li ji* include passages that refer to performances in which an appointed summoner ascended to the roof of the house holding a garment of the deceased and, facing north, recalled him or her by name.³³⁸ According to the *Li ji*, “The looking for it to return from the dark region is a way of seeking for it among the spiritual beings. The turning to face to the north springs from the idea of its being in the dark region.”³³⁹ Joy Beckman has suggested that in addition to desires to revive the deceased, these rituals may have been a way of recalling an errant and imperiled soul with motives to secure it away in the grave—thus, the rituals that proceeded reinforced the role of the living in orchestrating the safe transition of the body and

³³⁸ *Yili zhushu* 35.759-763 (“Shisangli”); *Liji zhengyi* 21.777-778 (“Li Yun”); 44.1441-1443 (“Sangdaji”).

³³⁹ *Liji zhengyi* 9.309 (“Tan Gong Xia”); translation from James Legge, trans., *Li Chi, Book of Rites*, Vol. I. (New Hyde Park, NY: University Books 1967), 167.

soul into the afterlife, and at the same time, served as a way of protecting descendents from the potential harm or nuisance of a wandering soul.³⁴⁰ Indeed, two works in the anthology of poems attributed to Warring States period Chu writers, known as the *Chuci*, expand upon sentiments to recall the soul in poetic verse. The “Zhao Hun” and “Da Zhao” address the soul with a series of warnings about the dangers of regions beyond followed by enticing reminders of the comforts of home. Each presumably refers to the soul of a King in their rich descriptions of palatial settings, sumptuous feasts, and alluring female attendants and entertainers.³⁴¹ These blandishments, however, may also be in reference to the comforts provided in the tomb.

Much has been written about the exact nature of this “soul” in early Chinese conception.³⁴² The written record has provided a good deal of information on this subject, particularly with reference to the changes that occur in death, though as several scholars have demonstrated, these notions were in no way uniform. According to what has been gathered, most notably in the late 1970s and 1980s by scholars such as Michael Loewe and Yu Ying-shih, at least as early as the sixth century BCE, two facets of what can be called a soul were mentioned in texts: the *po* 魄, which corresponded to the physical workings of the corporeal body; and the *hun* 魂, which was an individual’s life breath, the essence which animated one’s bodily being and governed the mind.³⁴³ With developments in correlative cosmology that became prominent into the Han period, these two complimentary souls were considered harmoniously united within

³⁴⁰ Though her discussion focuses on the Chu traditions, archaeological evidence of well-provisioned tombs and fear of the dead, to be described below, suggest that this may have been true for other contexts as well. See Beckman 2006, 168-75.

³⁴¹ For a hypothesis on the identity of these kings, see Hawkes 1985, 222-23 and 232-33.

³⁴² For a synthesis of this discourse that considers material as early as the 1950s, see Kenneth Brashier, “Han Thanatology,” *Early China* 21 (1996), 125-58.

³⁴³ Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), 9-10, and “The Religious and Intellectual Background,” in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume I, The Ch’in and Han Empires, 221 B.C. – A.D. 220*, ed. Dennis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 717-18; Yu, Ying-shih, “O Soul, Come Back! A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Dec., 1987), 363-395.

each individual. As for what happens in death, the widely held view is that the two components separated: the *hun* floated up to heaven while the *po* remained with the body to be interred in the earthly grave. Such notions are corroborated by references to the soul-calling rituals in the *Li ji* and *Chuci* poems—in each text, the *hun* is the soul being called back.³⁴⁴

Other scholars, however, have questioned this tidy dualism, both in its simplicity and for its implied currency across a wide spectrum of society. Poo Muzhou, for example, questions the idea that the *hun* was differentiated from the *po*, since in some texts the two are both said to leave the body, while in others, including the *Li ji* and *Chuci* poems, the *hun* had the ability to flee in any direction, including downward.³⁴⁵ These critiques have been elaborated by Anna Seidel and Kenneth Brashier, both of whom have marshalled archeological evidence to challenge *hun-po* dualism.³⁴⁶ Brashier in particular added to this discourse the idea, based on funerary stele of the Eastern Han period, that the *hun* and *po* were worshiped at the grave in order to fulfill the bodily needs of the deceased, while the *shen* 神, or what may be translated as “spirit,” was revered at the ancestral temple, the site where social identity was commemorated and preserved.³⁴⁷ This is in accordance with the notion that the funerary rituals evolved to create a new, ancestral identity based on social identity in death.

All of these scholars, however, have acknowledged that these conflicting ideas were part of a textual tradition that is often more valuable for what it tells us about the exclusive realm of scholasticism than it does about the lives of the multitudes. If we look at the archaeological

³⁴⁴ Yu 1987, 375.

³⁴⁵ Poo Muzhou 1993 and 1998.

³⁴⁶ See Anna Seidel, “Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs,” *Dokyo to Shukyo Bunka* 道教と宗教文化 (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1987), 21-37; and also Anna Seidel, “Post-Mortem Immortality or: The Taoist Resurrection of the Body,” in S. Shaked, D. Schulman and G.G. Stroumsa, eds., *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution, and Permanence in the History of Religions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), 228-31. For the ideas of Brashier, see Brashier 1996.

³⁴⁷ Brashier 1996, 146-58.

record, changes in grave goods and developments in tomb architecture from the Warring States period and through the Han point to the tomb as a dwelling for some form of vital energy that required the material comforts of life underground and continuous offerings from the living above.³⁴⁸

In regard to these afterlife contexts, Lai Guolong is the only scholar thus far who has considered toiletry items and their relation to the soul.³⁴⁹ As mentioned in Chapter One, Lai—who focused his study in the Warring States period—has considered toiletry items in concert with other, personal items as a material means of averting evil influences in the afterlife. Such influences were encountered during journeys to otherworldly paradises. These paradises have mostly been considered as a development of the Han, though Lai argues convincingly that they were already part of ideologies of death during the Warring States period.³⁵⁰ Though he did not consider complete toiletry sets in his analysis, Lai discussed many of the items in the toiletry case—including caps, combs, mirrors, and hairpins—as part of groupings of personal items that were included in bamboo inventories under the heading of “travel paraphernalia.” He interprets these as objects taken directly from the tame world of the living that may have been used to negotiate or reconcile dangers encountered outside of those bounds, i.e. along the dangerous routes to the spiritual realms. Indeed, his focus on personal, portable objects from Chu contexts compels us to consider the distinctive toiletry case from tomb no. 1 at Jiuliandun. While the standard toiletry case may be deemed as portable, this example, with its compact and expandable form, appears to have been designed specifically for travel and therefore may have had dual

³⁴⁸ As Jessica Rawson has stated with regard to the items placed with the dead, “None of these careful provisions suggests that the people of the day thought of the tomb as still and silent or of the dead as immobile.” See Jessica Rawson, “The power of images: the model universe of the First Emperor and its legacy,” *Historical Research*, vol. 75, no. 188 (May 2002), p. 140.

³⁴⁹ Lai 2005.

³⁵⁰ Lai admits, however, that such journeys at that time were specified for the war dead or those who died wrongful deaths.

significance in these afterlife contexts. This case, however, is the only one of its kind unearthed thus far, and so development of this hypothesis awaits further excavated evidence. In addition to form, the designs on toiletry cases dating to the Han period are also indicative of movement and transition, as discussed in Chapter Three. I have already suggested that the active animal and immortal figures that waft about cloud-filled expanses or inhabit rolling landscapes as observed on the walls and covers of toiletry cases may have been considered as protective or as aids in rites of passage. These facets of form and ornamentation underscore the potential of toiletry items to assist the soul in metaphorical journeys of passage.

Though the posthumous journey endured as a theme in Han tombs³⁵¹, consideration of the placement of toiletry items in these contexts (when not present in the inner coffin) suggests that as they became widespread within burials, they played a more prominent role within afterlife settings that were anchored in the mundane facets of the tomb design. These settings were characterized by objects taken from life and, especially into the Han, those modeled after the necessities and comforts of life. Such items, called *mingqi*, were created specifically for the

³⁵¹ The material and pictorial dimensions of Han period tombs indicate that posthumous journeys continued to occupy a prominent place within ideologies of death after the Warring States, rendering tombs as both resting places for the soul and dynamic spaces that facilitated travel to other worlds. Indeed, a mixture of differing beliefs is evident particularly in the tomb of Lady Dai at Mawangdui, where travel to an immortal paradise is rendered through pictorial images, while at the same time the tomb itself was structured as an underground home. See Wu 1992. Other tombs suggest variations on these themes: a real horse and chariot formation in the Western Han mountain-hewn burial of Liu Sheng was found oriented as if ready to exit the tomb; voyages via chariot were also shown as carved in the stone walls of burial structure itself, such as in the Eastern Han tomb at Cangshan, where the journey depicted is a metaphorical one into the afterlife, which seemingly ends in the tomb itself as paradise. See Wu Hung, "Beyond the 'Great Boundary': Funerary Narrative in the Cangshan Tomb," in *Boundaries in China*, ed. John Hay, (London: Reaktion Books), 81-104. In addition, other tombs include gates or towers that also suggest movement to another realm. Moreover, contemporary texts describe several destinations of the soul, including the northwest regions as described above, but also other magical mountains, such as Penglai in the East, and Kunlun, abode of the Queen Mother, in the West. See Loewe 1979, 33-34; Wu 1994, 82-84. It is evident from this variety that ambiguity of these journeys was the norm rather than the exception, which is compounded further by the fact that tomb imagery included mountains, immortal figures, and otherworldly landscapes that suggest that the tomb itself was intended to encompass the spiritual realm.

dead.³⁵² They appeared first as miniature imitations or cheap substitutes for bronze ritual vessels, but as ideologies of the afterlife developed, *mingqi* expanded in form to include tomb figurines as substitutes for attendants, musicians, and other household staff; models of houses, towers and granaries; renderings of animals; and tomb guardians.³⁵³ *Mingqi* also comprised imagery painted on or carved into tomb structures that depicted astrological diagrams, the sun and the moon, auspicious symbols, scenes from official and everyday life, and even images of deceased individuals themselves, surrounded by servants, or feasting and entertaining. Jessica Rawson has posited that, as the living saw it, servants could be carved from wood and miniaturized, buildings might be modeled in clay or pictured, and musical instruments were often out of tune or incomplete, but all were considered as genuine articles, both functional and effective for the community of the dead in the constructed world of the tomb.³⁵⁴ Like other objects, toiletry items have been found in both of these manifestations: as three-dimensional sets, but also as *mingqi* images on tomb walls. Moreover, in some of these burial contexts they can be observed within deliberately constructed “scenes” that served as spaces for locating the soul of the deceased within the afterlife.

One of the earliest scenes is found in Western Han tomb no. 167 at Fenghuangshan (Hubei, ca. 179-141 BCE).³⁵⁵ This burial was created as a vertical shaft, wooden chambered structure composed of a coffin chamber flanked by head and side compartments. The occupant

³⁵² The combination of functional objects from life and *mingqi* may have been based on particular preferences of the deceased, as some have noted, though Mark Berkson has convincingly theorized them as part of “tie-breaking rituals.” Mark Berkson, “Death and the Self in Ancient Chinese Thought: A Comparative Perspective,” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1999), 136-39. As explained by Lai Guolong, “The mixture of *mingqi* and non-*mingqi*, new and old, was part of the tie-breaking ritual, the purposes of which was [*sic*], on one hand, to sever the bond between the living and the dead, and on the other hand, to provide a gradual transition from this world to the afterlife.” Lai 2002, 76.

³⁵³ For a discussion and synthesis of the concept of *mingqi* based on texts and material evidence, see Liu 2005.

³⁵⁴ Rawson 2002, 138-9.

³⁵⁵ For brief report, see Fenghuangshan Yiliqi Hao Han Mu Fajue Zhengli Xiaozu, “Jiangling Fenghuangshan yiliqi hao Han mu fajue jianbao 江陵鳳凰山一六七號漢墓發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* (1976.10), 31-37, 50.

of this tomb was an older woman, probably the second wife of the high-ranking officer in adjacent tomb no. 168.³⁵⁶ While the head compartment contained a collection of pottery and lacquered vessels for feasting, storing food provisions, and washing, the side compartment was filled with an assemblage of deliberately positioned tomb figurines. Their arrangement is noteworthy for what it reveals about the hierarchy of servants within the households of the middle to upper ranking elite.³⁵⁷ They are configured in a series of rows that run the length of the compartment. Two official figures holding halberds face a procession that begins with a light carriage followed by nine rows of attendants and servants. The first two rows include female figures standing with hands concealed under voluminous long sleeves; the next two comprise those with hands outstretching holding cloth and quilts; and in the last row, similar figures offer *shu* and *bi* combs.³⁵⁸ While the former were household servants, the last four rows were made up of laborers of the estate who carried on their shoulders hoes, axes, and spades. These were then followed by ox carts and other laborers.

Each of these groups was denoted in a bamboo inventory found in the fill just above the tomb. Within this listing, the figures with concealed hands are named as the close attendants of their mistress.³⁵⁹ These figures, along with those holding halberds and representative of officials are the largest in size; the layers of their robes are individually carved, and strands of their hair and features of their faces are carefully delineated. In contrast, other figures, which bare their

³⁵⁶ A grouping of three tombs (nos. 167, 168, and 169) was found midway up Fenghuang mountain (*shan*), near Jingzhou city in Hubei province. Tomb nos. 168 and 169 have been associated as the burials of husband (no. 168) and first wife, probably because each have ramps, while no. 167 does not. See Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1993, 455-56.

³⁵⁷ Tomb nos. 167 and 168 were at least double the size of the other tombs found in the vicinity of Fenghuangshan.

³⁵⁸ These figurines were listed in the bamboo inventory as, “two female servants with embroidered clothing holding *shu* and *bi* combs 女子二人持[束疋](梳) 枇(篋) 綉大婢.”

³⁵⁹ They are called *zeshi* 責侍, whereby there character *ze* was a loanword for *ce* 側, meaning “at the side.” *Shi* means attendant. See Jilin Daxue Lishi Xi Kaogu Zhuanye and Fu Ji’nan Cheng Kaimen Banxue Xiaofendui, “Fenghuangshan yiliuqi hao Han mu qiance kaoshi 鳳凰山一六七號漢墓遣策考釋,” *Wenwu* (1976.10), 38-39.

hands and hold household items, including toiletries and equipment for working in the fields are smaller in size, plainly carved, and created from wood of lesser quality.³⁶⁰ It is curious that the household female servants offering combs would be crafted in the same manner as outdoor laborers, though grouping them together may have simply been a way to emphasize the higher status of the close attendants.

A similar arrangement of figurines was found in the head compartment of the adjacent tomb of her husband (no. 168), but it remains a matter of speculation whether they included female maidservants offering toiletries—small figurines of women were found among his assemblage of servants, but their outstretched hands were missing when unearthed.³⁶¹

In his analysis of tomb figurines, Wu Hung has examined the different ways that they were incorporated into burial spaces of early China and argued that their arrangement allowed for the creation of symbolic spaces that served to define the dead socially.³⁶² In what he terms “tableaux,” figurines were configured to create different frames that functioned to locate the soul of the deceased within the constructed space of the tomb as master of his or her underground household. Several such tableaux involve complete toiletry sets, as in the northern compartment of the tomb of Lady Dai at Mawangdui (ca. 168 BCE). Also a rectangular, vertical shaft wooden-chambered structure, Lady Dai’s tomb comprised a central compartment for her four nested coffins that was flanked on all four sides by further compartments. It is worth quoting

³⁶⁰ Jessica Rawson, ed., *Mysteries of Ancient China: New Discoveries from the Early Dynasties* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 181-82; see also Anne Chadwick, “Group of seven servant figures,” *Hong Kong Museum Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (March 1998), 4-5.

³⁶¹ In addition, while the collection of bamboo slips found in this tomb lists these servants, they do not, as in tomb no. 167, specify *shu* and *bi* combs as held by the figurines. See Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1993, 463-65, 500, fig. 31.

³⁶² Wu Hung, “On Tomb Figurines: The Beginning of a Visual Tradition,” in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, 2005), 25-26.

Wu's description in full in order to convey the extent to which multiple forms of material culture were drawn into this northern compartment assemblage:

“Here [the north room] figurines and objects were arranged in various sections as if on a stage. Silk curtains were hung on the walls, and a bamboo mat covered the floor. Eating and drinking vessels were displayed in front of an empty couch furnished with thick cushions and backed by a painted screen—a seat prepared for an invisible subject. We realize the identity of this subject from the things placed around the seat: in front of the couch were two pairs of silk shoes, and next to the couch were a cane and two toilets [*sic*] boxes containing cosmetics and a wig—all intimate personal belongings of the deceased woman. Joining these objects to frame an “empty center” for Lady Dai's soul were several groups of figurines in this room. Ten large ones, each 69-78 centimeters tall, seem to represent Lady Dai's personal attendants. Eight other figures have been identified as singers and dancers, performing in the company of five musicians. This performance was staged at the east end of the room, opposite the couch at the west end. One could well imagine the invisible soul of Lady Dai, enjoying food and drink, and watching the performance from the couch.³⁶³

A parallel tableau is presented in the northern compartment of the tomb of her son (no. 3, ca. 186 BCE), which was nearly identical in structure. His room was also lined with a bamboo mat, silk was hung from the walls, and a lacquer screen served as a backdrop for the space where his soul was to be located. All three of his toiletry case sets—which contained both his toiletries and official cap—were placed within this setting. Additionally, his space included a collection of weapons and a weapons rack, and a pottery lamp and censor. Of the 106 tomb figurines unearthed from his tomb, 102 populated this space, including female attendants, singers, dancers, and musicians.³⁶⁴

In his article, Wu recognizes a parallel between these posthumous frames for the dead and the ways in which social, political or ritual statuses were delineated in life. For example, he points out that the chapter, “Mingtang Wei (Positions in Bright Hall),” of the *Li ji*, “defines the

³⁶³ Wu 2005, 26-27.

³⁶⁴ Hunan Sheng Bowuguan et al 2004, 42, 44-45.

ruler's authority not by describing his actual power but by locating his central position within layers of frames constituted by the courtiers, the feudal lords, and the barbarian chieftains in the four quarters of the world.”³⁶⁵ In the tableaux of the Mawangdui tombs, deceased individuals are constituted not only by the surrounding figurines of attendants and entertainers, but also by the array of objects that were woven within these contexts. Indeed, Wu explained that the roles played by these figurines were reinforced by the objects placed in their vicinity.³⁶⁶

This notion is also illustrated in the painted murals that line the walls of the Eastern Han period multi-chambered brick tomb at Helinge'er (Horinger 和林格尔, Inner Mongolia).³⁶⁷ These detailed murals, often with captions naming people and places depicted, chronicle the career and retirement of the tomb occupant and recreate various sections of a household corresponding to that of a high-ranking officer. Within the middle chamber of this tomb, two murals along the western and northern walls present parallel scenes of each occupant in enclosed spaces defined by curtains hung along the back wall. Each scene is centered on the tomb occupants, who are surrounded by a constellation of attentive servants and open lacquered boxes. The servants, like the figurines in the tombs at Fenghuangshan, carry items in their hands, though what they hold is unclear due to damage. In the mural centered on the female, female attendants stand behind with circular objects, perhaps mirrors. A collection of rounded and rectangular lacquered boxes lay open on the ground beside the female occupant, some of which appear to represent toiletry cases; the others may be boxes for clothes. The scene of the male occupant is

³⁶⁵ Wu 2005, 28.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 18.

³⁶⁷ For brief tomb report, see Nei Menggu Wenwu Gongzuo Dui and Nei Menggu Bowuguan, “Helinge'er faxian yi zuo zhongyao de Dong Han bihua mu 和林格尔发现的一座重要东汉壁画墓,” *Wenwu* (1974.1), 8-24; see also, Anneliese Gutkind Bulling, “The Eastern Han Tomb at Ho-lin-ko-erh (Holingol),” *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. 31 (1977-78), 79-103, and Jean James, “An Iconographic Study of Two Late Han Funerary Monuments: The Offering Shrines of the Wu Family and the Multichamber Tomb at Holingor,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1983).

somewhat different, which hints at the existence of a gendered notion of space. His servants are all male, and he is surrounded by fewer lacquered boxes.

One final example leaves little room to explore the creation of distinctive gendered spaces through toiletry items. In the rear chamber of a late Eastern Han stone slab tomb discovered in Yi'nan (Shandong)—the same tomb in which the image of burial goods displayed before the ancestral temple was found—renderings of toiletry cases and weapons serve to reinforce the identities of a deceased couple. Indeed, though looters absconded with most of the burial goods from this tomb, they could not rob archaeologists of the rich imagery covering the walls and posts of its multiple chambers. In her analysis of these carvings as a burial program, Lydia Thompson has suggested that the layout of the tomb, which includes front, middle, and rear sections, was designed to represent two perspectives: The front section, which included scenes from the funerary ceremonies as well as post-burial rites, represented the perspective of the mourners, who would have entered the tomb space as part of the funerary rituals; the central space was a nexus whereby the souls of the deceased couple could reach paradise, thereby impacting both the deceased couple and the mourners; and the rear section, which housed the coffins, was designed from the vantage point of the deceased couple.³⁶⁸ This rear chamber was partitioned in the center to create individualized spaces for each occupant. The upper register of the wall behind the female coffin included tables on which were arranged a collection of rectangular and round lacquered boxes, as well as a mirror stand, large toiletry case, and two bamboo domes for drying clothes and/or infusing them with scent.³⁶⁹ Below these items, a cat inches forward, ready to pounce on a nearby mouse. In the bottom register, three female

³⁶⁸ Lydia DuPont Thompson, "The Yi'nan Tomb: Narrative and Ritual in Pictorial Art of the Eastern Han (25-220 CE)," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1998).

³⁶⁹ Garments were draped over the top of these domes, and then the apparatus was placed over a stove and/or incense burner. See Sun 2008, 399.

attendants with elaborate hairstyles offer the deceased woman their services: one holds a mirror stand, another a toiletry case, and the third readies a fly whisk. More toiletry cases are at their feet, along with a table that contains a wine vessel, and a tray lined with wine cups. In contrast, the upper register of the wall behind the male coffin shows weapons racks and armor, and below, male servants are depicted tending to more weapons. Moreover, as Thompson explains, the gaze of the male occupant is directed toward the scenes of mourners in the front chamber, while that of the female regards scenes of a kitchen and granary.³⁷⁰

The scenarios described above, though varying in content and type, all demonstrate ways in which toiletry items figured in the construction of spaces that were intended to re-present social identity in the afterlife. Common to all of these configurations is the direct association of toiletry items or toiletry case sets with servant figures. Situated in the hands of attendants, toiletry items mediated between the relative positions of master or mistress and servant. These hierarchies are further emphasized, for example, in the small, modestly crafted figurines holding combs at Fenghuangshan, and in the enormous discrepancy in size between tomb occupant and servants as illustrated in the murals at Helinge'er. While Chapter Two demonstrated how the possession and use of toiletry case sets was a means to enacting social identity, close analysis of their positioning in burial contexts has revealed an additional perspective whereby identity was reinforced through the deployment of these sets via the aid of servants.

Moreover, while the tableaux in the Western Han burials at Mawangdui and, perhaps, Fenghuangshan are parallel across gender, those from the Eastern Han tombs at Yi'nan and Helinge'er reveal gendered distinctions through the depiction of toiletry items. These latter examples reinforce the iconographic association of toiletry items with the feminine, as was

³⁷⁰ Thompson 1998, 242-43.

discussed in Chapter Two with regard to the “Aristocratic Life” plate found in the 3rd century tomb of the official, Zhu Ran (Anhui). While the brick and stone chambered tombs of the Eastern Han did not provide favorable conditions for preservation of burial objects, scant evidence, such as the toiletry case found in the tomb of Zhu Ran, and another found in the tomb of a high-ranking male at Ganquan, Laohudun (Jiangsu), suggests that we should not accept this imagery at face value.³⁷¹ In other words, toiletry case sets may have still been possessed by and buried with males into the Eastern Han period, and therefore their association with females in tomb iconography was likely part of a common rhetoric expressed in pictures.

4.2 PART TWO: TOILETRY CASE SETS AND THE MOURNERS

As Hertz explained, the mourning period for Indonesian cultures began with death and lasted through the final rites of secondary burial. The deceased body, polluted by death, was considered an “object of horror and dread.”³⁷² Those with the closest degrees of kinship to the deceased felt the blow of death at its most severe, and were obliged to withdraw temporarily from society through measures such as isolation, change of dress, and alteration of diet.³⁷³ According to Hertz, these mourning procedures were intended to directly aid in death transitions. As there was a parallel between the condition of the corpse and the fate of the soul, so too was there a correlation between the bodies and actions of the living close kin and the deceased

³⁷¹ Only one coffin was reported in this large, multi-chambered brick tomb, however conditions for preservation were not favorable and the tomb was looted at least once. See Yangzhou Bowuguan, eds., “Jiangsu Hanjiang Xian Ganquan Laohudun Han mu 江蘇邗江縣甘泉老虎墩漢墓,” *Wenwu* (1991.10), 62-75.

³⁷² Hertz [1960] 2009, 37.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

individual, both of whom retreated from society only to gradually re-emerge in a new social position or identity.³⁷⁴

Williams has utilized this framework for considering the significance of toiletry items—specifically tweezers, razors, shears, and combs—within cremation burials of Early Medieval Britain.³⁷⁵ He has approached these items, which were added to cinerary urns after the body was cremated, as potentially meaningful within processes of death and transformation. He proposed that they were used during the deceased's lifetime for the management of the body and hair, and were likely involved in marking the different stages of life through alteration of appearance. During funerary rituals, these customs continued as they were used to prepare the body and mark the transition from life to death. Placed in the urn after the dissolution of the corpse, he proposed that they may have accordingly been intended to re-constitute the deceased in his new ancestral form. At the same time, Williams noted that toiletry items may have been used in a similar manner by the living to alter their own appearances when entering a period of mourning, during rites of separation, and then again to mark a change in status once the final burial rites had been performed. In sum, each actor in the funerary rites utilized these items in parallel ways, thus demonstrating one means by which they became interrelated in processes of death.

There is some evidence that these parallels were at work in China as well. In early China, mourning was marked by a change of clothing upon completion of the soul-calling rite. Different grades of apparel were worn based on one's relationship to the deceased, with the plainest and most simply manufactured reserved for the principal mourner, who enacted relatively stringent mourning procedures. According to the *Yi li*, he donned a coat and skirt of

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 50.

³⁷⁵ Howard Williams, "Transforming the Body and Soul: Toiletry Implements in Early Anglo-Saxon Graves," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 14 (2007), 66-91; see also Williams 2006, 93-94.

untrimmed sackcloth and a headband, cap, and belt of inferior hemp; he also used a cane and wore shoes made from wild grasses.³⁷⁶ He was to retreat from society by living in a poorly built lean-to near the burial, eat simply prepared congee, and wail day and night.³⁷⁷

These alterations of appearance naturally involved certain toiletries. As mentioned in Chapter Two, special hairpins were worn during periods of mourning, as is evidenced through the rather meticulous dictates of the *Yi li* and *Li ji*. For example, an unmarried woman wore hairpins made of bamboo for the death of her father, and those of inferior wood for her mother.³⁷⁸ A specific type of hairpin was even reserved for the dressing of the corpse. This type was narrow in form toward its center and broad at each end, and was to be made from mulberry wood, possibly because the word for mulberry, *sang* 桑, is a homophone for mourning, *sang* 喪.³⁷⁹ The three hairpins and ornamental headdress worn by Lady Dai in death, however, confirm that these directives were, in fact, idealizations that were not always followed.

Other such dictates included a proscription against wearing cosmetics upon the death of close kin. In his commentary to the *Yi li* notation about hairpins worn by unmarried women in mourning, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) mentioned that women were prohibited from making up their faces during these periods.³⁸⁰ This is corroborated by a passage from the *Hou Hanshu*, in which the official, Li Gu was slandered for the contemptible breach of etiquette of wearing powders at his Emperor's funeral.³⁸¹

³⁷⁶ *Yili zhushu* 28.625 ("Sangfu"); see also Yang 2004, 297-98.

³⁷⁷ *Yili zhushu* 28.628 ("Sangfu"); see also Yang 2004, 297-98.

³⁷⁸ And also, married women used inferior wood for hairpins worn in mourning for their mothers-in-law. See *Liji zhengyi* 6.220-221 ("Tan Gong Shang"); 32.213 ("Sangfu Xiaoji"); see also Wu 2007, 135.

³⁷⁹ This homophonic correlation is made in Zheng Xuan's commentary to the passage. See *Yili zhushu* 35.773 ("Shisangli").

³⁸⁰ *Yili zhushu* 34.747.748 ("Sangfu").

³⁸¹ *Hou Hanshu* 63.2074 ("Li Gu Liezhuan 李固列傳").

Though these gleanings do suggest that toiletries were involved in death transitions in a similar manner to the ways theorized by Hertz and Williams, the available sources present another means by which toiletry case sets continued to affect the living once final burial rites were performed. Admittedly, evidence for the following theory is, like the gleanings presented above, relatively scant, though it does appear consistent with the ways in which toiletry case sets figured belowground and in funerary ceremonies: as nourishment and comfort for the dead and as tools for remembrance. These contexts for which references to toiletry case sets can be found date to the Eastern Han period, when mourning became a subject of particular interest to contemporary writers and both texts and archaeology point to the popularity of commemorative monuments and mortuary architecture at the gravesite.

The importance of mourning during the Eastern Han has been explored by Miranda Brown, who pointed out that by this period, mourning procedures were not so much motivated by fears of the dead or facilitating death transitions as they were concerned with the needs of the living to express familial or personal bonds.³⁸² For example, the length of the mourning period was rationalized on one level in terms of filial obligations. In the case of the principal mourner, the three year mourning period for one's parents was said to parallel the nurturing attention that

One piece of evidence, however, that suggests that mourning procedures collectively correlated with death transitions can be found in rationalizations for the length of the mourning period itself. Unlike mourning procedures in Indonesia, which culminated with the final interment rites, those in early China extended beyond the closure of the grave. As with the types of mourning garments worn, periods for mourning varied according to one's relationship to the deceased. For example, the principal mourner was to observe "three years mourning," a manner of speech that actually referred to a period of mourning that extended into the third year, or twenty-five months in duration. See Brown 2007, 13; Lai 2003, 89-91. In a recent article, Lai Guolong argued that the original significances (pre-Han) of specific mourning periods were rooted in concepts of cosmology and numerology. He explained: "The morning system is based on various periods required to complete seasonal cycles. The changes in mourning clothes are used to symbolize cyclical renewal and the movement of Heaven and Earth, and the mourning durations correspond with 'cosmic time.'" Lai 2003, 85. Thus, the mourners aligned themselves with natural cycles of death and rebirth, efforts that may have also been intended to aid the soul of the deceased in his own transformations.

³⁸² Miranda Brown, "Men in Mourning: Ritual, Human Nature, and Politics in Warring States and Han China, 453 BC- AD 220," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 24.

parents lavished on children until the age of three.³⁸³ Such notions were a product of the development of Confucianism in the Han, which saw duties and devotion to family as model for service to the ruler and the state. Sincere and harrowing expressions of grief in mourning were indications of filial piety and good moral character under Confucian ideals, and those whose actions were genuine were celebrated and deemed admirable. Interestingly, sorrow was thought to affect the internal organs, and because the body was understood as a system of interrelated parts, those feelings would manifest themselves in one's external appearance. As stated in the *Li ji*'s "Questions about Mourning":

The bitterness of his grief and the distress and pain of his thoughts injure his kidneys, dry up his liver, and scorch his lungs. Watery gruel does not enter his mouth... Grief and sorrow resides (in the mourner), and for this reason, it gives rise to a change in his exterior.³⁸⁴

Thus, during these periods of intense grief, alterations of appearance went beyond the changing of clothes and hairpins and entered the realm of the physiological, where bodies became observably emaciated and weak. Accounts of bereavement were especially visible in the Eastern Han period across a variety of media, including eulogies on funerary stele, dossiers in which men who displayed extraordinary grief in mourning were recommended for official posts, and even snippets of popular gossip.³⁸⁵

Moreover, the grave itself developed into a site where expressions of filial piety could continue after burial of one's parents, and as Wu Hung has shown, where a wide range of social relationships could be confirmed through the construction of monuments and periodic visitation

³⁸³ Lai 2003, 81.

³⁸⁴ “惻怛之心，痛病之意，傷腎乾肝焦肺，水漿不入口...夫悲哀在中，故形變於外也。”*Liji zhengyi* 35.1790 (“Wen Sang 問喪”); translation in Brown 2002, 42.

³⁸⁵ These are described in detail by Miranda Brown in her book, *The Politics of Mourning in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 51-54.

and offerings.³⁸⁶ In one stone carving that was part of an aboveground shrine, a toiletry case is depicted in a similar manner to the examples described in the first half of this chapter with regard to belowground settings. In what is known as the “homage” or “pavilion” scene in Stone Chamber Two of the Wu Family Shrines (mid second century CE), a large male figure receives kowtowing guests on the ground level of a two-storied structure while his female counterpart, centered on the second level, is offered a mirror and a rounded toiletry case by doting female attendants.³⁸⁷ Jiang Yingju 蔣英炬 has recently described this scene—many other examples of which have been recovered—as a stock assemblage of iconographic themes, comprised of a multi-storied pavilion with male figures below and female figures above, a thriving tree, an archer, and a horse and carriage, which are sometimes depicted as a procession.³⁸⁸ According to Jiang, this scene would have been centered on the rear wall of funerary shrines, and the prominent figures depicted inside the pavilion are likely generalized representations of the deceased couple for whom the shrine was erected. Though the motifs have been interpreted in various ways, he makes the case that they are auspicious symbols reflecting the hopes and desires of both mourning audiences and deceased individuals. These scenes, he argued, served as a visual link between the living and the dead.³⁸⁹ Among examples found on what have been viewed as aboveground shrines, the assemblages vary and were subject to different stylistic programs. That only one surviving image includes a female servant offering a toiletry case to her mistress is suggestive that the patrons of these scenes also played a part in the compositional

³⁸⁶ See Wu’s chapter, “Voices of Funerary Monuments,” in Wu 1995, 189-250.

³⁸⁷ For a description of this scene in its entirety, see Cary Y. Liu and Eileen H. Hsu, “Stone Chamber 2 (Left Chamber),” in *Recarving China’s Past: Art, Archaeology, and Architecture of the “Wu Family Shrines,”* Cary Y. Liu, Michael Nylan, and Anthony Barbieri-Low (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 156.

³⁸⁸ Jiang Yingju, “The Iconography of the ‘Homage Scene’ in Han Pictorial Carving,” in *Recarving China’s Past: Art, Archaeology, and Architecture of the “Wu Family Shrines,”* Cary Y. Liu, Michael Nylan, and Anthony Barbieri-Low (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 162-79.

³⁸⁹ Jiang 2005, 176. At the beginning of his essay, Jiang provides a brief overview of the most prevalent interpretations put forward for this scene in the past.

design of these scenes. In this instance, the descendants of the deceased may have desired to offer their mother a toiletry case set as part of post-burial reverence.

This would not have been the first instance in which toiletries were part of post-burial offerings. An account in the *Hou Hanshu* describes gravesite reverence at the imperial level, where rituals were centered on the mundane activities of daily life: palace attendants offered food, maintained the royal bedroom, and set out washing supplies and toiletries.³⁹⁰ Indeed, Wu Hung has described a gradual shift in sacrificial activity from the lineage or ancestral temple to the tomb, a change that took place from the Western to the Eastern Zhou periods and into the Han dynasty.³⁹¹ This shift was part of efforts to de-emphasize the supremacy of lineage ties as the old Zhou system fell into decline (Chapter Three), but was also motivated by the personal political ambitions of Eastern Han Emperor Guangwu 光武 (r. 25-56), whose tenuous succession to the throne necessitated that he de-emphasize the grand lineage of rulers.³⁹² Wu noted that components of the ancestral temple were transferred to the gravesite, including the *qin* 寢 or retiring hall, and the *miao* 廟, or ceremonial hall. The former was situated in the back and was intended for the soul of the deceased to rest, while the latter was located at the front, the site where mourners could leave offerings.³⁹³

³⁹⁰ *Hou Hanshu* 9.3200 (“Ji Si Xia 祭祀下”). See also Brashier 1996, 152-53.

³⁹¹ Wu Hung, “From Temple to Tomb: Ancient Chinese Art and Religion in Transition,” *Early China* 31 (1988), 78-115; repeated in Wu 1995, 110-21. Though Wu claimed that temples sacrifices were abolished altogether, others have challenged his idea by providing evidence that temple sacrifices continued to hold an important place among post-burial rites. See Brashier 1996, 152, n. 100. Mark Edward Lewis also addresses Wu’s contention in Lewis 2006, 122-23.

³⁹² Wu 1995, 120.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 116-19.

It is within this *qin* hall of the gravesite mausoleum where we are brought full circle to the moment of personal mourning by Emperor Ming that opened this dissertation.³⁹⁴ Upon completion of the formal rituals of visiting the grave and providing the appropriate offerings, Emperor Ming came in contact with the toiletry case of his mother, which had been set out as part of the posthumous vigil to appease the bodies of the deceased imperial couple—a setting that, incidentally, mirrors the “tableaux” created for belowground contexts as described above. In the text just before the passage quoted at the beginning of this dissertation, we learn that the Empress died in the 7th year of Emperor Ming’s reign, or 62 CE. His recorded visit to the gravesite took place in his 17th year as regeant, or 74 CE, some 12 years after her passing. It is likely that he had begun to forget certain aspects of his mother, which is perhaps why her toiletry items, inscribed with her embodied image, had such an agonizing affect. Hallam and Hockey have written that “vestiges of the past acquire resonance through their relation to something forgotten.”³⁹⁵ The more distant to memory the image of his mother, the more evocative such items as cosmetic powders and brushes became with regard to both the visual and sensual dimensions of recollection. According to Kenneth Brashier, even the ritual texts recognized the “new value of old things” in the context of death.³⁹⁶ He notes the *Li ji*’s chapter, “Yu Zao 玉藻,” which states of a filial son: “When his father died, he could not [bear to] read his books;--the touch of his hand seemed still to be on them. When his mother died, he could not [bear to] drink

³⁹⁴ Emperor Ming was, in fact, the son and successor of Emperor Guangwu. He upheld his father’s alteration of traditions and instituted sacrifices at the gravesite at the beginning of his reign. While during the Western Han dynasty, officials often ignored the stringent measures of three years’ mourning (withdrawing from society, and in turn, office) in favor of their governmental duties, Emperor Ming stood as an early proponent of a new emphasis on mourning, which included postponing official duties during the designated time period. See Brown 2007, 54-55.

³⁹⁵ Hallam and Hockey 2001, 104-05.

³⁹⁶ Kenneth Brashier, “Tools in early ancestral remembrance,” in “Public Memory in Early China,” unpublished manuscript, 1.

from cups and bowls that she had used;--the breath of her mouth seem still to be on them.”³⁹⁷ Such material vestiges of a loved one would have made palpable his or her absence. One might gather from the passage that Emperor Ming found both anguish and comfort in handling his mother’s toiletry items. In the end, we read that he ordered that the cosmetic powders inside be refilled, a testament to the potency of toiletries in reviving, renewing, and sustaining memories.

4.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this final chapter, I have examined instances in which toiletry case sets figured in both above and belowground settings after the final burial rites had been performed. Though there is some evidence to suggest that toiletries functioned in death transitions in ways similar to those as theorized for the soul and the mourners by Hertz and Williams, ideologies of the afterlife from the Warring States through Han indicate that death in the Chinese context was in many ways made to model life. Thus belowground contexts where the soul was to dwell, though idealized and imbued with the supernatural, were rooted in an everyday elite material and social existence. Similarly, in aboveground settings the living incorporated the fulfillment of the deceased’s daily needs into post-burial rituals at the grave. By in a sense paralleling the activities above and belowground, the living maintained a material connection to both the corpse and the soul, confirming and reinforcing the social status, order, and remembrance of deceased individuals.

³⁹⁷ “父沒而不能讀父之書，手澤存焉爾；母沒而杯圈不能飲焉，口澤之氣存焉爾。” *Liji zhengyi* 30.1075 (“Yu Zao 玉藻”); translation in Legge 1967, Vol. 2, 24.

5.0 CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has presented my attempt to understand toiletry case sets in early China from multiple perspectives, taking into account not only the evolution of their form and style, but also their range of contents, placement in burial, and materiality as objects with an intimate connection to the body, and individuals. What began simply as a gendered study of these sets developed into an inquiry of their potential to accumulate meaning as they traversed the contexts of life and death. In particular, I aimed to illuminate different meanings that may have become pronounced depending on such factors as their deployment in the mundane or the ritual, their use by individuals or impact as items of public display, and their materiality as luxury items of status or as objects of memory.

The multiple layers of meaning that have been brought to light through this open inquiry are demonstrative of the distinctive place toiletry case sets occupy among burial goods that fall within the category of “items used in daily life (*shenghuo yongqi*).” Indeed, despite their variations in size and form and range of contents, toiletry case sets have rarely been considered remarkable beyond what they present to those interested in lacquer technology. These items do not carry the numinous aura of ritual objects, nor do they stimulate our desires toward interpretation in the ways that silk paintings or stone carvings have done for the periods of focus. They have instead been obscured within the fabric of everyday elite life along with other mundane items, such as vessels for eating and drinking and pieces of furniture. As I hope to

have demonstrated in this dissertation, however, this very quality of the mundane, or use in daily routines, has proven to be the generative force behind the multiple levels on which toiletry item sets came to be significant in early China.

The complexity of toiletry case sets with regard to gender, as discussed in Chapter Two, is a subject that has been largely ignored by existing scholarship, but one that significantly affects the way we view these items. Though the textual and pictorial records in early China depict toiletry case sets as part of the domain of the female, their consistent association in burial with both females and males compelled me to consider their use and significance beyond the predisposition of sources of the past. My analysis has shown that the ideals of appearance for women and men from the Warring States through Han periods were indeed parallel in many respects, and at the same time, necessarily different with regard, for example, to marking different phases of the life cycle, or managing head or facial hair. I proposed that rather than interpret toiletry cases sets as static symbols of gender, they should be approached as active in the daily construction and performance of the masculine or feminine. Indeed, while not a common phenomenon, the use of white powders by male favorites at court is an extreme case illustrative of occasions where our assumptions about toiletries and gender are challenged.

Approaching toiletries through embodied use also allows inquiry of these items to advance beyond their relationship to gender to a consideration of how they were meaningful in the construction and maintenance of other facets of social identity in life for both women and men. The use of toiletries to fulfill social ideals of beauty may have been a contributing factor to upward social mobility and a means to maintaining a proper “social skin.” Possession of an ornately crafted toiletry case set was probably afforded only by the elite. Moreover, some items, such as human hair extensions, underscore the notion that access to certain toiletries was a

privilege of those with power and influence. In addition, daily practices of beautification were part of a larger task of ordering the body, which was itself at the center of universal schemes of social and cosmological ordering.

It has been my contention that toiletry case sets as unearthed from burials should not be approached simply for what they tell us about life—as has been the norm for the studies that do directly inquire into toiletry items—but considered further for how they might contribute to our understanding of processes of death in early China, the subject to which Chapters Three and Four have been devoted. Indeed, the ways in which they functioned and became bound up in the various occasions for making up, from the quotidian to the momentous, indicate that toiletry items occupied a distinctive position among other “shenghuo yongqi” for their close connection to the physical body as it matured throughout the lifecycle. Even when compared with other personal items, such as clothing or shoes, toiletries are distinctive in their capacity both to adorn *and* transform the body and face, rendering them ordered, socially acceptable and, to a certain degree, without age. Their habitual use by individuals and their intimate relationship to the body form the core reasons why toiletry case sets may have been potent objects in contexts of death.

Indeed, when incorporated into mortuary contexts, toiletry case sets were no longer in a position to be used by individuals, but were instead deployed and viewed by funerary audiences. In my analysis of toiletry case sets during this new phase of their social lives, I utilized the framework established by Robert Hertz, who examined funerary rituals as processes of transition affecting the corpse, the soul, and the living. I also followed the work of Howard Williams, who adapted Hertz’s framework to the study of material culture as a mediating force among the three actors involved. Drawing on their ideas and the work of others who have looked at the material culture of death, in Chapters Three and Four I traced the ways in which toiletry cases sets may

have impacted the living by virtue of their relationship to the dead during the multiple phases of the funerary rituals.

The approaches of Hertz and Williams proved most useful for understanding the significance behind placement of toiletry case sets within the outer encasements of burials along with other goods or, beginning in the Qin and continuing through the Han dynasty, within the inner coffins of deceased individuals, as explored in Chapter Three. By highlighting the treatment and display of the deceased body across different phases of the rituals, namely those of coffining and interment—performances that took place at different times and spaces, and in the presence of different groups of mourners—the variable meanings of toiletry case sets with regard to the changing identity of the corpse, the provisioning of the soul, and processes of bereavement among mourners were brought to the fore.

At the heart of Williams' approach is the notion of the mnemonic capacity of material culture. He argued that the deployment of material items within ritual was the principal means by which funerals were made real and memorable.³⁹⁸ As these ceremonies were performed time and again by using and moving through an array of material forms, certain customs and ideologies of death were upheld and perpetuated. At the same time, however, this perspective of the rituals allows us to understand how small changes to funerary programs—for example, the different positioning of toiletry case sets within burials—contributed to the development and/or modification of religious beliefs over time. Indeed, placement of some toiletry cases within the inner coffins of deceased individuals beginning in the Qin suggests that they were directly implicated in changing ideologies of death, which at that included nascent desires to achieve immortality in the next life. Placed in close proximity to deceased individuals, the association of

³⁹⁸ Williams 2006, 220.

toilettries with the maintenance and transformation of the body and face may have been emphasized.

Moreover, I have suggested that whether in the outer encasement or in the inner coffin, the more intimate association of toilettries with individual biographies may have also been thrown into relief during funerary ceremonies, heightened perhaps by the array of personal items that have also been found in some cases. Under these circumstances, the more practical uses of toilettries in routines of beautification became overshadowed by their effect as objects of memory. Moreover, as described in Chapter Four, these different levels of meanings were not confined to the space and time of the funerary rituals, but perpetuated in contexts belowground where the soul was to reside, and aboveground in post-burial settings where rituals were performed to sustain the soul and in which material items stood as tangible reminders of deceased individuals. Thus toiletry case sets, to use the terms of Connerton, had the capacity to both inscribe and incorporate memories. They inscribed, or embodied, daily routines of beautification and ordering the body, and in the process became saturated with the memories of individuals. They incorporated those memories into funerary ceremonies through their deployment within the ritual sequence through the bodies of mourners.

It should be reiterated that while the range of different items stored in toiletry cases suggest that many of these sets were those actually possessed and used in life by deceased individuals, I do not make the claim that all toiletry case sets found in burials were of this highly personalized nature. Just as contents appear individualized for some, they are relatively uniform for others. Moreover, specific otherworldly iconography—namely the Queen Mother of the West—that appears on the walls of at least one example reinforces the notion that some of these cases were made expressly for death. Indeed, the choice to include actual toilettries used in life

with their deceased owners may have varied with individual families. As shown in Chapter Four, some personalized toiletry case sets may have even been specifically reserved for aboveground settings where post-burial rites and commemoration took place (or deceased individuals possessed more than one case, as is evidenced throughout the listings of the Appendices). To be sure, the very multiplicity of meanings set forth in this dissertation is consistent in description of uses, if not in precise function, with this more nuanced interpretation of toiletry items in early Chinese contexts.

With regard to the methodologies employed in this study, as Chapter Four has demonstrated, the deployment of toiletry items within rituals of death in early China does not fit tidily within the framework established by Robert Hertz, nor has it presented a complete parallel to the way that Howard Williams has theorized toiletry items for the context of Early Medieval Britain. Unlike Hertz, I did not have the benefit of contemporary ethnographic analogues, but instead considered archaeological contexts against idealized ritual dictates as recorded in textual sources of the periods. As noted in both Chapters One and Three, these texts must be used judiciously, bearing in mind that they were idealized dictates that do not account for variation. The same can be said for the use of other textual sources, including histories, poetry, and anecdotes, sources that were deliberately left out of the analyses of Williams. Though I have focused this study on the toiletry case sets themselves and their placement within mortuary contexts, written sources have added dimension to my understanding of these items by allowing for a more detailed picture of, for example, the embodied use of toiletry items with regard to gender, the spatial progression of the funerary rites, and also the emotive force of toiletry items, as was demonstrated through the recorded experience of Emperor Ming. Future development of this topic will benefit from further consideration of the written sources—particularly

philosophical texts that address the body and notions of beauty, and medical literature for its scientific and superstitious view of the body—with regard to information preserved in the archaeological record.

In this dissertation, I have cautiously avoided making broad sweeping generalizations about the nature and meaning of toiletry case sets in Warring States through Han period China. Drawing on the sociological and anthropological perspectives of Robert Hertz and Howard Williams, respectively, as well as my own training in art historical analysis, I have presented a multi-disciplinary exploration of the ways in which toiletry case sets were used, viewed, and experienced in early China. The work of Hertz, Williams, and other scholars who have delved into the relationship of death and material cultures has greatly enhanced the way that I approached these items in their temporal and cultural contexts. My study therefore is a testament to the ways in which inquiry into the material culture of early China can benefit from cross-cultural comparison and in turn, contribute to the growing body of multi-disciplinary studies that continue to present new ways of understanding people, things, and processes of the past.

APPENDICES

The following four appendices represent the main archaeological data that I have used in my exploration of toiletry case sets throughout this dissertation. Each is a compiled list of burials discovered that contained *lian* toiletry cases. They are divided by period (Warring States, Qin, Western Han, and Eastern Han), and ordered by modern-day provincial boundaries in China (e.g. Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, etc.), which corresponds to the geographic categorization used in archaeological reports. Discreet burials in each listing are represented by alternating rows of white and grey and numbered in succession for each period. In burials where multiple toiletry case sets have been found, entries include multiple rows (with the added designation of “a,” “b,” “c,” etc.), each of which is dedicated to a single toiletry case (I did not repeat the burial name, form or date in these multiple listings). Thus, the reference “[C:26a]” in the body of the dissertation refers to Appendix C, entry number 26a.

These listings include most of the information that I deemed necessary in my research, including the place and date of the burial, information about the tomb form and occupants when provided, and a description of toiletry case form (measurements are in centimeters), décor and contents, as well as a notation of their placement in burial and associated items. Citations at the end of each entry are listed in the same manner that bibliographic references are listed in the footnotes throughout the dissertation. As noted in the introduction, I have relied mostly on brief reports from major archaeological journals in China; where there are blank spaces, no information was provided. In addition, during my research, I came across many images of toiletry cases in books on lacquerwares or archaeological finds for which I have not been able to

locate reports. Such omissions notwithstanding, these tables are intended to be as comprehensive as possible.

APPENDIX A:
WARRING STATES PERIOD (450-221 BCE) TOMBS WITH TOILETRY CASES

Table 4. Warring States Period (450-221 BCE) Tombs with Toiletory Cases

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
1	Hubei Jiangling Tianxingguan 湖北江陵 天星觀 (2000) M2	MWS (350- 330 BCE)		Rectangular vertical pit, wooden chambered tomb with ramp. 2 coffins and 2 wooden coffin cases: larger chamber has 5 compartments	F: 40-46, wife of Fan ? 番(譚 + 力), prince of the Chu State	Thin wood round 1 (with three feet); 13.2 tall x 32 diam (feet are 5.4 cm tall)		Inside red lacquer, outside black. On top, three bowstring rings encircle a bronze bushou ring-handled knob. There are animal faces on the 3 bronze feet where they meet the vessel.	Bronze belt hook, large and small agate rings, bronze ring- handled knife, 2 jade-handled bronze knives, plain bronze mirror, lacquer painted bronze mirror, 75 bone beads, 8 pottery huang 璜 pendants	Lacquer se zither, kneeling wooden figurines, lacquer seat[?]	Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Bowuguan 2003
2	Hubei Yunnan Shuihudi 湖北雲夢 睡虎地 (1975) M3	L WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.4 long x 2.8 wide [guo: 3.96 long x 1.8 wide]) with guan- guo and head compartment, connected by doors; foot recess; bovine head on top of coffin		Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 10 tall x 22 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description of décor. Brands on underside and cover.		Head compartment	Yunnan Shuihudi Qin Mu Bianxiezue 1981
3a	Hubei Yunnan Shuihudi 湖北雲夢 睡虎地 (1975) M4	L WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.64 long x 2.4 wide [guo: 3.24 long x 1.6 wide]) with guan- guo and head compartment, connected by doors; foot recess		Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 11 tall x 21 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description.		Head compartment	Ibid.
3b						Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 10.5 tall x 21 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description.		Head compartment	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/Form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
4	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1975) M5	L WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.6 long x 2.2 wide [guo: 3.2 long x 1.44 wide]) with guan-guo and head compartment, connected by doors		Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 11.5 tall x 23 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description of décor. Incised symbols on inside cover walls.		Head compartment	Ibid.
5	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1975) M5	L WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (4 long x 2.56 wide [guo: 3.8 long x 1.8 wide]) with guan-guo and head compartment, connected by doors		Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 17 tall x 21.2 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description of décor. Brand on top of cover; incised symbol on underside of vessel.		Head compartment	Ibid.
6a	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1975) M7	256 BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.16 long x 3 wide [guo: 3.76 long x 1.8 wide]) with guan-guo and head compartment, connected by doors; foot recess		Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 8 tall x 17 diam (16 body diam)		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Small central roundel with a bird/cloud motif (?) surrounded by 4 registers: leaved vines, swirls, lozenges and "x"; bird/cloud designs; lozenges and "x". Body has bird/cloud patterns, angles and dots.		Head compartment	Ibid.
6b						Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 11 tall x 22 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description		Head compartment	Ibid.
6c						Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 11 tall x 22 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description of décor. Brands on inside cover, inside bottom, and underside of vessel.		Head compartment	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletary case body/form/ # of levels/ # sm boxes	Toiletary Case Decor	Toiletary Case Contents	Location of toiletary case & associated items	Reference
6d						Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 13.5 tall x 14 diam	Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description of décor. Incised characters on underside of vessel and top of cover.		Head compartment	Ibid.
7a	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1975) M10	LWS		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.16 long x 2 wide [guo: 3 long x 1.6 wide]) with guan-guo and head compartment, connected by doors; foot recess		Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 20.5 tall x 22 diam	Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description.		On coffin cover	Ibid.
7b						Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 19.3 tall x 21.5 diam	Inside red lacquer, outside black. Designs include bird motifs, bird/cloud patterns, and twists and turns.		On coffin cover	Ibid.
8a	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1978) M46	LWS		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.1 long x 2.6 wide) with guan-guo and head compartment, with double doors connecting the two. On top of guo, in center was a bovine skull; leg bones surround the guo.		Round, rolled wood 1	Black lacquer; inside cover has incised gong 工			Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1986
8b						Round, rolled wood 1				Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/Form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
9	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1978) M49	LWS		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.45 long x 3.04 wide) with guan-guo and head compartment.		Round, rolled wood 1		Polychrome lacquer; underside of vessel has the brand xian ting 咸亭			Ibid.
10a	Hubei Jingmen Baoshan 湖北荊門包山 (1986) M2	316 BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (6.32 long x 6.26 wide) with a double guo and three guan, ramp, mound; innermost coffin is painted red inside and black out, with dragon & phoenix designs in red and yellow, and gold and silver powder. Four compartments surrounding the coffin chamber.	M: 35-40 years old. Zhao Tuo, a zuoyin official of the Chu State	Round, fabric and leather 1; domed cover, walls to bottom; 14 tall x 26.4 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No décor.		Western compartment: 3 bamboo cases (one had a pair of shoes, and another, some silk fragments), spears, leather material, a pair of shoes, wooden figurines, bronze vessels, iron sickle, wooden axe handle, bamboo fans, lacquer tablet, and bamboo slips.	Hubei Sheng Jingsha Tielu Kaogu Dui 1991

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
10b						Round, fabric and leather, 1; slightly domed cover, walls meet at center; 10.9 tall x 27.9 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Cover has deep red, reddish orange, earthy yellow, reddish brown, and green interlaced dragon patterns. Top half of body (same colors): landscape scenes with figures meeting and riding chariots, trees, birds and animals. Bottom half of the body: red, yellow & green cloud/dragon/bird patterns. Underside has a border of red geometric.	huajiao (prickly ash) occupied about 2/3 of the space; square bronze mirror (traces of silk on top), round bronze mirror, powder puff, 2 bone ji hairpins, 2 wooden items, 1 clam shell	Northern compartment: wooden figurines, bamboo cases (1: huajiao; 2: carved animals, jade ornaments, faux hair, huajiao; 3: silk fragments; 4: 2 wooden comb sets), a writing brush, bamboo mat, fou vessels, bone ornaments, small wooden box, wooden tiger, wooden zither, wooden pillows, bronze lamp, table, dragon-headed cane, bronze knife	Ibid.
11	Hubei Jiangling Jiudian (1981) 湖北江陵九店 M712	L WS early part	X	Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo and head compartment. Coffin wrapped in 3 hempen cords, under which wooden wedges were placed; lingzhuang included.	F: ~46	Round, thin rolled wood (flat cover & bottom) 1; 8.9 tall x 13.4 diam (12.8 body diam)		Inside red lacquer, outside black, with red & reddish brown cloud/bird motifs (3), swirls and dots, surrounded by a register of stylized lozenge patterns (repeated on body)		Head compartment: pottery ding, spoon, yi, dui, & hut; bamboo case (inside: wooden comb set, bronze mirror, ji hairpin and bamboo slips), round wooden cakes, and zhenmushou.	Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1995

□

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
12	Hunan Changsha Zuojiagongshan 湖南长沙左家 公山 M15 (M185)	M WS late part		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.06 long x 1.8 wide) with guan-guo (lingzhuang, on top of which the body was wrapped in a reed mat), head and side spaces.	~35 years of age; Shi 士 class	Round wood 1; 9.5 tall x 20 diam		Black lacquer with red cloud and bird patterns. This vessel was wrapped in silk	Plain bronze mirror	Side space (northern half): wooden figurines, wooden bi material, wooden bi comb, bamboo cases, wooden spear head, leather armor, lacquer earcups, quiver, wooden case for a bronze sword, silk fragments, wooden trident, bamboo bow	Hunan Sheng Bowuguan et al 2000
13	Hunan Changsha Simaochong 湖南长沙 丝茅冲 M78 (M399)	L WS		rectangular vertical shaft (2.66 long x 2.40 wide)	Commoner status						Ibid.
14	Hunan Changsha Dongtang 湖南长沙东塘 M4 (M492)	L WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.6 long x 2.2 wide) with guan-guo	Shi 士 class						Ibid.
15a	Hunan Changsha Yangjiawan 湖南长沙 杨家湾 M6 (M569)	L WS mid- dle part		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.7 long x 2.64/2.83 wide) with guan-guo, ramp, and 3 side compartments.	F: Shi 士 class	Round wood; 10 tall x 34 diam	2	Central roundel with cloud/bird motif, surrounded by registers of cloud/bird patterns alternating with geometric (lozenge) patterns.	Bronze mirror, wooden comb set, small boxes, bronze brush, and 72 bamboo slips. In 2 small boxes were found amounts of grayish-white, pasty substance.	Side compartment (SE corner); other lacquer boxes, covers, wooden figurines, wooden fang vessel, wooden shovels, lacquer earcups	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
15b						Round wood; 10 tall x 34 diam		Central roundel with cloud/bird motif, surrounded by registers of cloud/bird, swirls & dots (more sparse than ex. above) alternating with geometric (lozenge) patterns. Underside of vessel and inside cover each have the characters, 王二.		Side compartment (SE corner): other lacquer boxes, lian, & covers, wooden figurines, wooden fang vessel, wooden shovels, lacquer earcups	Ibid.
16	Hunan Changsha Fengshushan 湖南長沙 楓樹山 M11 (M595)	L WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.45 long x 2.08 wide) with side rectangular niche (2.10 x .68)	Shi 士 class						Ibid.
17	Hunan Changsha Zuojiatang 湖南長沙 左家塘 M10 (M2022)	WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.6 long x 1.55 wide) with guan-guo and side compartment.	Shi 士 class						Ibid.
18	Hunan Changsha Zuojiatang 湖南長沙 左家塘 M16 (M1031)	L WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.64 long x 1.40 wide) with a side niche (2 x .03)	Commoner status						Ibid.
19	Hunan Changsha Liujiadashan 湖南長沙 柳家大山 M33 (M1058)	L WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.76 long x 1.66 wide) with guan-guo	Shi 士 class	Round wood 1; 28 diam		All black lacquer with geometric and cloud patterns that change into birds.	Bronze mirror		Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
20	Hunan Changsha Weijiadui 湖南長沙 魏家堆 M1 (M1140)	L WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.45 long x 2.45 wide) with 2 guan and 1 guo, a side, rectangular niche (2.4 x .75), inside of which was a rectangular box that held grave goods.	Shi 士 class	Round wood (cover and bottom) & fabric (walls) 1; 9 tall x 25 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Cover has red cloud patterns surrounded by registers of geometric and lozenge designs. Inside cover has a 田 symbol surrounded by cloud and geometric decoration.	Bronze mirror, wooden comb set, thin silk, gauze and brocade fragments, & a powdery substance, possibly a cosmetic	Rectangular box inside niche: pottery dun vessels, ding, spoon, dou vessel, fragments of wooden figurines, as well as other pottery and lacquer vessels.	Ibid.
21	Hunan Changsha Wulipai 湖南長沙 五里牌 M3 (M1195)	L WS early part	X	Rectangular vertical shaft (3.18 long x 2.4 wide) with guan-guo and 2 side compartments. Inside coffin, painted red lacquer and straw mat.	Shi 士 class	Round thick wood 1; 8 tall x 23.4 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Cover has yellow and brown colored lacquer decoration: small central roundel has a galloping horse, surrounded by cloud, lozenge & geometric designs in registers, repeated on body.	Bronze mirror, wooden comb set, "etc."	Side compartment (SW corner): lacquer zun, of which were bronze belt hooks, bronze pushou, 3 pottery dun vessels, pottery yi vessel	Ibid.
22	Hunan Changsha Wulipai 湖南長沙 五里牌 M406	WS	X	Rectangular vertical shaft (5 long x 4.2 wide) with double guan & guo, ramp, and a compartment that surrounding the outer coffin.				No description in report		Space surrounding coffin chamber (NW corner): bronze sword, dagger, leather bag fragments, incense burner	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
23	Hunan Changsha Changling 湖南长沙长岭 M7 (M1274)	LWS mid-die part	X	Rectangular vertical shaft (3 long x 1.82 wide) with double guan (geometric mat inside one and lingchuan) & guo, 2 rectangular niches (2.4 x .42) & (2.32 x .47) on the right side of the tomb, situated one on top of the other; a rectangular box within left niche has most grave goods.	Shi 士 class	Round 1		No description in report		Rectangular box of lower niche: lacquer pan, bronze box, wooden figurines, bronze yi, hu & pan fragments, bronze ding feet, bronze spoon, and other lacquer and pottery vessels.	Ibid.
24	Hunan Changsha Huochezhan Nanchongtang 湖南长沙火车站南冲塘 M18 (M1654)	WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.65 long x 1.9 wide) with guo and side compartment.	Shi 士 class						Ibid.
25	Hunan Changsha Yanshanjie 湖南长沙燕山街 M5 (M1957)	WS		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.3 long x 3.4 wide) with double guan & guo, ramp, and side compartment.	Shi 士 class						Ibid.
26	Hunan Changsha Chenjiadashan 湖南长沙陈家大山 M124	WS	X	Rectangular vertical shaft (3.45 long x 2.22 wide) with guan-guo, side niche. Coffin painted lacquer: red inside, black outside				No description in report	Bronze mirror?	Side niche: bronze mirror (on top of lian fragments), fragments of a lacquer pan, small bronze object, wooden object, pottery dou with cover.	Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1957
27	Hunan Changde Deshan 湖南常德德山 (1958) M47		X	Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo, head & side spaces.		Round wood or fabric, 1		Deep brown lacquer with red geometric, transformative designs and dragons.	Bronze mirror and comb set?	Head space: earcups, weights used in balance, small bronze bells	Hunan Shang Bowuguan 1963

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
28	Anhui Shucheng Qinjiagao 安徽舒城 蔡家橋 (1978) M3	L WS	X	Rectangular vertical shaft (2.85 long x 2.29 wide) with guan-guo and 2 compartments (with lingzhuang).		Round rolled wood 1; 9.3 tall x 25.6 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Cf Hunan Changsha Wulipai M3's <i>lian</i> : center has a roundel with unclear motif, surrounded by cloud, lozenge & geometric designs in registers. Body has angles and dots.	Bronze mirror, a wooden shu comb (11 teeth) & 2 wooden bi combs (one has 81 teeth), and silk fragments		Shucheng Xian Wenwu Guanli Suo 1990

APPENDIX B:
QIN DYNASTY (221-206 BCE) TOMBS WITH TOILETRY CASES

Table 5. Qin Dynasty (221-206 BCE) Tombs with Toiletary Cases

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletary case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletary Case Decor	Toiletary Case Contents	Location of toiletary case & associated items	Reference
1	Hubei Shashi 周家台 湖北沙市 (1992) ZM30	~213-209 BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.74 long x 1 wide) with guan-guo, space at head and narrow space at the side of coffin.	~30 year old male, possibly a prefecture magistrate or deputy to the chief of a prefecture.	Round 1; 23.1 cover diam (21.7 body diam) x 7.7 tall		Inside red lacquer, outside black, with reddish brown, deep brown, & light brown cloud patterns. Top of cover, a bird and cloud pattern surrounded by registers with diamond, net, dots and cloud clusters. Seals and incised symbols on inside and outside of cover, inside bottom, and outside body.	Wooden comb set and bronze mirror	Inner coffin: no other items	Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Shi Zhouliangyu qiao Yizhi Bowuguan 1999
2	Hubei Jiangling Yueshan 湖北江陵岳山 (1986) M15	Late 3 rd c.		Rectangular vertical shaft (6.2 long x 4.5 wide) with guan-guo, with head, foot and side spaces.	Middle or lower level official (among the larger tombs in the grouping)	Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Center has a form close to the 4-petaled motif, surrounded by 3 registers of curls, crosses, z's, and clouds. Report unclear about body—swirls and angular patterns?	Comb set, bronze mirror	Inner coffin: bamboo case, pearl-like objects, 3 jade bi, knife, small bronze xue knife, multiple-edge crystal piece, 3 bronze belt hooks, 3-4 bronze rings, bell-shaped item, jade ornament.	Hubei Sheng Jiangling Xian Wenwu Ju and Jingzhou Diqu Bowuguan 2000
3	Hubei Jiangling Yueshan 湖北江陵岳山 (1986) M36	Late 3 rd c.		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.8 long x 3.3 wide) with guan-guo, and a foot compartment	Middle or lower level official (among the larger tombs in the grouping)	Round wood 1		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Cf. toiletary case from M50 at Haojiaping: red dots and dashes, lozenge patterns, flower-like motifs.	Comb set, bronze mirror	Inner coffin: jade ornaments, wooden boards/sticks, wooden frame (?), lacquer and wood fragments, a bundle of bamboo measuring sticks (测筹), bronze belt hook, bundle of reeds, bamboo object.	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
4	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1975) M9	Late 3 rd c.		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.1 long x 3 wide [guo: 3.56 long x 1.8 wide]) with guan-guo and head compartment, connected by doors; foot recess and 2 niches (curved top; flat bottom)		Round wood (slightly stepped cover, flat bottom) 1; 8 tall x 20 diam (18.5 body diam)		Inside painted red, outside black lacquer. Designs include lozenge patterns, dots, and twists and turns. Brands on top of cover and underside of vessel.	Wooden comb set, "etc."	Inner coffin: wooden bi disc, wooden waist pendant	Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin Mu Bianxiezhu 1981
5a	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1975) M11	217 BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.1 long x 2.9 wide [guo: 3.52 long x 1.72 wide]) with guan-guo and head compartment, connected by doors; foot recess and niche (curved top; flat bottom). On top of guo: a bovine head	M: an official in a local criminal court named Xi, about 45 years old	Round wood (slightly stepped lower, flat bottom) 1; 13.8 tall x 24 diam (22 body diam)		Inside and out, plain black lacquer. Brands on underside of vessel and on top of cover; incised characters on top of cover.		Head compartment	Ibid.
5b						Round wood 1; 8.1 tall x 18.1 diam (16.7 body diam)		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Cover has a large central roundel with plum blossom flowers, and sparse cloud motifs, dots and swirls. 3 registers surround, with registers and leaves with dots (1 st and 3 rd); 2 nd has dots, geometric motifs and "B" symbols. Body has dots, angles and comma motifs	Bronze mirror and wooden comb set	Inner coffin: 2 pens, bamboo tube, agate rings, silk cap, hemp shoes, a hamhoo ji hairpin, and 1100 bamboo slips	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletary case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletary Case Decor	Toiletary Case Contents	Location of toiletary case & associated items	Reference
6	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎 地 (1975) M12	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.82 long x 2.3 wide [guo: 3.12 long x 1.24 wide]) with guan-guo and head compartment, connected by doors; ercengtai		Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 21.3 diam (19.8 body diam)		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description of décor. Incised symbol on underside of vessel; brand on top of cover.		Head compartment	Ibid.
7a	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎 地 (1975) M13	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.72 long x 2.28 wide [guo: 3.3 long x 1.64 wide]) with guan-guo and head compartment, connected by doors		Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 13 tall x 22.2 diam (21 body diam)		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Designs include bird, cloud/bird, and twists and turns. Underside of vessel has incised characters and brands; top of cover has brands.		Head compartment	Ibid.
7b						Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 7 tall x 15.5 diam (14 body diam)		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Designs include cloud/wind motifs, plum blossom flowers, and twists and turns.		Head compartment	Ibid.
8	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎 地 (1975) M14	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.2 long x 2 wide [guo: 2.96 long x 1.4 wide]) with guan- guo and head compartment, connected by doors		Round wood (slightly stepped cover; flat bottom) 1; 16 tall x 24 diam (21.5 body diam)		Inside red lacquer, outside black. No further description of décor. Top of cover has a brand, and inside cover has incised symbols.		Head compartment	Ibid.
9	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎 地 (1978) M25	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.2 long x 2.95 wide) w/guan-guo, head and side chambers. Coffin & head chamber linked by doors.		Round, rolled wood 1; 38.3 diam (35.5 body) x 12 tall (body; cover is 8.9)		Inside red lacquer, outside black with a small, central roundel of red clouds and 4 surrounding registers of alternating clouds and dots, lozenges & leaves.			Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1986

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toilet case & associated items	Reference
10	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1978) M27	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.2 long x 2.2 wide) with guan-guo, one compartment, and an <i>ercengtai</i> .		Round, rolled wood 1		Decoration not recorded. On top of cover and underside of body both have the brand, ting 亭; underside of body also has incised characters: 大女子 (<i>probably the name of the craftswoman</i>)			Ibid.
11	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1975) M31	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.4 long x 1.9 wide) with guan-guo	Middle to lower status landlord	Thin rolled wood 1		Inside red lacquer, outside painted black.			Yunmeng Xian Wenwu Gongzuo Zu 1981
12	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1975) M33	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.9 long x 2.52 wide) with guan-guo	Middle to lower status landlord	Thin rolled wood 1		Inside red lacquer, outside painted black			Ibid.
13a	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1975) M34	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.8 long x 2.54 wide) with guan-guo	Middle to lower status landlord	Thin rolled wood 1		Inside red lacquer, outside painted black		Inner coffin	
13b						Thin rolled wood 1; Cover diam 22.2 (body 21.3) x 6.7 tall		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Central roundel of bird and cloud designs (cf. Zhoujiazai), surrounded by 3 registers of crosses, diamonds, and cloud patterns. Body has geometric and B-shaped patterns. Outside has a seal of "ting 亭"; outside cover and body each have incised: 大女子小	Bronze mirror and wooden comb set.		Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
14a	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎 地 (1975) M36	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.7 long x 2.2 wide) with guan-guo with head compartment. On top of guo was a bovine skull.	Middle to lower status landlord	Thin rolled wood 1		Inside red lacquer, outside painted black		Between coffin and head compartments: lacquer earcups, lacquer yu vessels, pottery guan vessel, lacquer hu, lacquer zhi cup.	Ibid.
14b						Thin rolled wood 1; 21.2 diam (body 19.5) x 11.5 tall		Inside and out, painted black lacquer. Outside also has some incised characters		Between coffin and head compartments: lacquer earcups, lacquer yu vessels, pottery guan vessel, lacquer hu, lacquer zhi cup.	Ibid.
15	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎 地 (1978) M43	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (4 long x 2.6 wide) with guan-guo, and one compartment. Doors appear below crossbeam between head and coffin compartments.		Round, rolled wood 1		Decoration not recorded. Underside of the body has the incised character, <i>che</i> 車; underside of body also has the brand, <i>ting</i> 亭			Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1986
16a	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎 地 (1978) M44	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (4 long x 2.6 wide) with guan-guo, with head compartment. Double doors below crossbeams that separate coffin and head chamber.		Round, rolled wood 1; 20.8 diam x 10.3 tall		All black lacquer, no patterns.		Head compartment: small mouthed earthen jars, lacquer earcups, lacquer hu vessel, lacquer yu jar.	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
16b						Round, rolled wood 1; 22.4 diam x 9.2 tall		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Cover has a central roundel of heavy red bird/cloud patterns surrounded by 3 registers of clouds and lozenges. Body has a band of cloud/bird patterns framed by angles and dots. Underside of the body also has an indistinct brand; inside bottom brand; inside bottom and inside the cover have brands, <i>shí nǚ</i> .	Wooden comb set, bronze mirror	Inner coffin: no other items.	Ibid.
17	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1978) M45	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.95 long x 2.55 wide) with guan-guo, with foot and side compartments; doors between coffin & head (1) and, and coffin & side (2) compartments.		Round, rolled wood 1				Side compartment (eastern half): lacquer zhi cup, wooden cart, peach stones, lacquer earcups, bamboo bow, bronze & iron arrowheads, bronze hu vessel.	Ibid.
18	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北雲夢睡虎地 (1978) M51	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.5 long x 2.35 wide) with guan-guo, one compartment, and an <i>ercengtai</i> .				Toiletry case not described in report			Ibid.
19	Hubei Yunmeng Mujiangfen 湖北雲夢木匠墳 (1975) M2	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.7 long x 2.66 wide) with guan-guo and head compartment. Double doors below crossbeams that separate coffin and head chamber.		Round, rolled wood 1; 21 diam (20 body) x 9.5 tall		Inside red lacquer, outside black with no patterning. The brand, <i>ting</i> 亭, is found in the inside cover twice, and once on the bottom inside of the vessel.	Head compartment: polychrome pottery hu and ding, pottery bowl, fu caldron, and 2 guan jars, polychrome lacquer zhi cup and 2 boxes, lacquer earcups, and 3 pottery small mouthed earthen jars.	Yunmeng Xian Bowuguan 1987	

No.	Province, Tomb (Year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of associated items	Reference
20	Hubei Yunmeng Longgang 湖北雲夢龍崗 (1989) M4	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3 long x 2.1 wide) with guan-guo. Coffin to the west and goods to the east.	Upper level commoner (because of guan-guo)	Round wood		Red lacquer inside, black outside; no decor		On top of coffin: lacquer vessels: zhi cup, yu broad-mouthed jar, oval lian, earcups.	Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al 1990
21	Hubei Yunmeng Longgang 湖北雲夢龍崗 (1989) M5	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.9 long x 1.9 wide) with guan-guo.	Upper level commoner (because of guan-guo)	Round wood		Red lacquer inside, black outside; no decor			Ibid.
22	Hubei Yunmeng Longgang 湖北雲夢龍崗 (1989) M6	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.2 long x 2.15 wide) with guan-guo and head compartment; double doors separate the compartments.	Upper level commoner (because of guan-guo)	Round wood		Red lacquer inside, black outside; no decor. Inside cover and inside bottom each have the incised character, ping 平.		Head compartment: lacquer earcups, hu, oval lian; pottery fu caldron, & weng earthen jar; rope; bamboo case and slips; wooden du writing tablets and bang sticks, jiubo die.	Ibid.
23	Hubei Yunmeng Longgang 湖北雲夢龍崗 (1989) M7	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.3 long x 0.83 wide) with single guan, no guo, space at head; ercengtai. Body wrapped in reed mat.	Middle level commoner (single guan)	Round wood		Red lacquer inside, black outside; no decor		Head compartment: pottery yu broad mouthed jar, fu caldron, guan jar, small mouthed weng earthen jar, zeng rice steamer; lacquer earcups.	Ibid.
24	Hubei Yunmeng Longgang 湖北雲夢龍崗 (1989) M9	Qin-WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (1.58 long x 0.8 wide), no guan-guo, with space at head.	Lower level commoner (no guan or guo)	Round wood		Red lacquer inside, black outside; no decor		Head space: pottery small mouthed weng earthen jar	Ibid.
25	Sichuan Xingling Guchengping 四川興隆古城坪 (1977) M1	Late WS or Qin		Rectangular vertical shaft wooden chambered tomb with guan-guo: foot compartment		Wood rolled round 1; 38.2 cover diam (16.8 body diam) x 8.9 tall		Inside painted red, outside black; with red birds, dots and geometric patterns (Qin style markings)	Bi and shu combs, bronze mirror, 2 polished, arced 裝飾 hairpins, wooden hair ornament, etc.		Xingling Gumu Fajue Xiaozu 1981

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
26a	Guangdong Guangzhou Dongjiao Luogang 廣東廣州東郊 羅崗 (1962) M4	Late 3 rd c. BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.6 long x 1.9 wide) with guan-guo (?).		round		Only fragments of lacquer survived: round impression indicates lian.		Eastern side: lacquer pen basin, pottery box and other pottery vessels.	Guangzhou Shi Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 1962
26b						round		Only fragments of lacquer survived: round impression indicates lian.		Eastern side: lacquer pen basin, pottery box and other pottery vessels.	Ibid.

APPENDIX C:
WESTERN HAN PERIOD (206 BCE-9 CE) TOMBS WITH TOILETRY CASES

Table 6. Western Han Period (206 BCE-9 CE) Tombs with Toiletry Cases

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
1	Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan 湖北江陵 鳳凰山 (1973) M1	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft: guan-guo (2.22 long x .86 wide)							Changjiang Liuyu Dierqi Wenwu Kaogu Gongzuo Renyuan Xunlianban 1974.
2	Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan 湖北江陵 鳳凰山 (1973) M8	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft: guan-guo (4.31 long x 2.60 wide)	M: Lower level official?	Wood (?) round 1	?		Bronze mirror, wooden shu and bi combs, smaller boxes, "etc."		Ibid.
3a	Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan 湖北江陵 鳳凰山 (1973) M9	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft: guan-guo (4.10 long x 2.38 wide)	Lower level official?	Wood (?) round (slightly curved cover) 1	?		Bronze mirror, wooden shu and bi combs, smaller boxes, "etc."		Ibid.
3b						Wood round (slightly curved cover) 3		Bottom level has 5 partitions (with wooden boards), and middle has partitions the shape of boxes (cf. Gaotai)			Ibid.
4	Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan 湖北江陵 鳳凰山 (1973) M10	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft: guan-guo (2.90 long x 1.38 wide)	Lower level official?						Ibid.
5	Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan 湖北江陵 鳳凰山 (1973) M12	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft: guan-guo (2.70 long x .84 wide)							Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case # of levels/ body/form	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
6a	Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan 湖北江陵 鳳凰山 (1975) M167	WH: 179- 141 BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft (5.7 long x 3.8 wide), no ramp, guan- guo, head and side compartments, windows in between. Black lacquer coffin	F: wife of M168	Wood (?) round 1		Lacquer vessels described as painted black and red, with cloud, bird, dot, & wave patterns.		Head compartment: a pen & pen box, found in a bamboo case with silks & a ring-headed knife; also, a bag with <i>hua jiao</i> .	Fenghuang- shan Yiliuqi hao Han mu fajue zhengli xiao zu 1976.
6b						Wood (?) round 1		Lacquer vessels described as painted black and red, with cloud, bird, dot, & wave patterns.		Head compartment: a pen & pen box, found in a bamboo case with silks & a ring-headed knife; also, a bag with <i>hua jiao</i> .	Ibid.
7a	Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan 湖北江陵 鳳凰山 (1973) M168	WH: Wen (167 BCE)		Rectangular earthen pit (5.4 x 3.8m) with ramp (2.4m long, western side), guan- guo, and head and side compartments, plus double inner coffin	M: ~60; Wu daifu 五大夫	Thin wood, rolled (curved cover; indented bottom) 1; Cover: 11 tall x 17.7 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside black. Incised cloud patterns. Cover has 7 ringed registers of ornament (central roundels have immortal figures); animals & birds amid clouds. Inside cover and inside bottom of vessel also have roundels of clouds, birds, and lozenges. Bamboo slip #14 says 鏡有一樣	Shu and <i>bi</i> combs with painted cloud patterns, mirror, thin bamboo slips, thin bamboo tube, bamboo pieces, and a shovel- shaped bamboo object	Side compartment: lacquer earcups, hu vessels, cups, yu jars, and boxes.	Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1993.
7b						Thin wood rolled 1: 12 tall x 20 diam		Center of cover and outside bottom has characters 仁 and 義. These characters were first incised, and then filled in with grayish- white color, so that they are raised on the surface.		Side compartment: lacquer pan, hu, yu jars, boxes.	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
8	Hubei Jiangdu Fenghuanghe 湖北江都鳳凰河 (1955?) M20	L WH- E EH		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.42 long x 1.42 widest) with coffin and side compartment. Wooden divider in between compartments has a carved design of a 2-storied pavilion and bi discs with interlaced bindings.		Round		Largely deteriorated: remaining fragment is either bottom or cover. Black lacquer with red painted patterns.		Side compartment: bronze mirror, other lacquer and pottery vessels, wooden tomb figurines, wuzhu coins.	Jiangsu Sheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 1955
9a	Hubei Jiangling Zhangliashan 湖北江陵張家山 (1983-4) M247	E WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.48 x 1.58m) with head compartment, separated by a set of doors with a window space above.				Probably had red lacquer painted inside, black outside. Brown or red patterns (based on a description of ALL lacquer vessels)		All items in head compartment (only cane fragment in coffin). Small lacquer boxes, lacquer pan, earcups, pottery guan, yu jar, hu; wooden horse, bi-shaped object, figurines, spear, bi comb, & sword; bronze vessels, a pen container, ruler, & bamboo slips	Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Shi Zhouliangyuqi ao Yizhi Bowuguan 1985
9b								Probably had red lacquer painted inside, black outside. Brown or red patterns (based on a description of ALL lacquer vessels)		All items in head compartment (only cane fragment in coffin). Small lacquer boxes, lacquer pan, earcups; pottery guan, yu jar, hu; wooden horse, bi-shaped object, figurines, spear, bi comb, & sword; bronze vessels, a pen container, ruler, & bamboo slips	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
10	Hubei Jiangling Zhangjiashan 湖北江陵 張家山 (1983-4) M249	EWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.42 x 2.84m) with head & side compartments, separated by doors (a set at the head, and two sets at the side)				Probably had red lacquer painted inside, black outside. Brown or red patterns (based on a description of ALL lacquer vessels)		Head compartment: bronze hu, ding; lacquer zun, earcups & pan; wooden horses, figurines, cart & wheels; bamboo slips	Ibid.
11a	Hubei Jingzhou Gaotai 湖北荆州高台 (1992) M2	EWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.30 long x 2.76 wide) with guo and 2 guan, and space at the head, side, and feet.	Between 9 th rank nobility and prefecture governor (salary 2000 hectoliters of grain)	Wood round (flat cover, extends over most of body) 1; 11.1 tall x 27.2 diam		Painted black lacquer inside and out; cover originally had painted decoration, but deteriorated (possibly similar to coffin décor); a roundel of cloud patterns on cover, surrounded by 3 rings of red and grey geometric and net patterns.		Inner coffin: cane and long zhi 縗 hairpin	Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Bowuguan 2000
11b						Wood round (cover slightly curved, extends over most of body) 1; 14.4 tall x 23.5 diam		Plain black lacquer, with brand: “成市” [] [] ¹		Side space: lacquer vessels, including boxes, oval lian, several pan, several earcups, a pillow, wooden figurines, etc.	Ibid.
11c						Wood round ¹				Side space: lacquer earcups, pan, wooden horse, lacquer boxes, bamboo tube	Ibid.
12a	Hubei Jingzhou Gaotai 湖北荆州高台 (1992) M3	EWH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo, head and side compartments.	Between the 6 th and 9 th rank of nobility.	Wood round; 15.6 tall (damaged) x 28.6 diam					Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
12b						Wood round (curved cover, flat bottom: cover extends over most of body) 3; 24.2 tall x 27 diam		On cover, red black and blue swirling lines that resemble clouds; deer and leopards interlaced. Bordering rings include more animals, geometric motifs, and cloud patterns. Inside cover and middle level partition: black borders with clouds and animals, central roundel of red with clouds and animals.	Bottom level: 7 smaller box- shaped openings with similar incised patterning of animals among clouds.		Ibid.
13a	Hubei Jingzhou Gaotai 湖北荆州高台 (1992) M4	EWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.88 long x 2.46 wide) with guan-guo, head and side compartments.	Between the 6 th and 9 th rank of nobility.	Wood round 2; 5.9 tall (damaged) x 18 diam		Top part of vessel mostly deteriorated: bottom part of cover has black walls with red and blue cloud/dragons and dots. Exterior walls of body have simple décor of "B" and geometric patterns in red.	Bottom level remaining: three sections, inside one, a wooden comb set.	Inner coffin: another lian toiletry case	Ibid.
13b						Wood round 2				Inner coffin: another lian toiletry case	Ibid.
14a	Hubei Jingzhou Gaotai 湖北荆州高台 (1992) M6	EWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.16 long x 2.38 wide) with guan-guo, head and side compartments. Dividing doors.	Between the 6 th and 9 th rank of nobility.	Wood round				Between side and coffin compartments: lacquer earcups, lacquer zun, lacquer cane, wooden cow, seated and standing figurines, other lacquer vessels	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case # of levels/ body/form	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
14b						Wood round (curved cover and bottom; cover extends over most of body) 3		Red and black lacquer. Small roundel at center of cover with running leopards amidst clouds and mountains. 8 decorative registers of dense patterning surround, with animals and beasts, cloud landscapes, and geometric or feather patterns. Body is similar, but features larger, running beasts. Cloud filled roundel also on the inside cover and middle partition.	Bottom level has 4 sections of thin wood	Between head and coffin compartments: lacquer earcups, wooden horse, lacquer yu jar, wooden figurine, oval lacquer lian, lacquer rectangular pan, bamboo slips	Ibid.
14c						Wood round				Inner coffin: 2 long zhi 槨 hairpins	Ibid.
14d						Wood round					Ibid.
15	Hubei Jingzhou Gaotai 高台 (1992) M18	EWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.35 long x 1.22 wide) with guan-guo, with space at the head and side.	Below the 5 th rank of nobility, a rural officer, merchant or landlord	Wood round; 16.54 tall x 21 diam				Side space: lacquer pan, earcups; pottery vessels such as dou, yi, hu, and rings.	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletary case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletary Case Decor	Toiletary Case Contents	Location of toiletary case & associated items	Reference
16a	Hubei Jingzhou Gaotai 湖北荆州高台 (1992) M28	M WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.32 long x 2.74 wide) with guan-guo, with 2 separate guan; head compartment is divided for each guan. Doors/windows on dividing walls.	Couple: Between 9 th rank nobility and prefecture governor (salary 2000 hectoliters of grain)	Wood round (curved cover, flat bottom with 3 bronze knobs on each; cover extends over most of body) 3		Plain exterior of pale brown. Inside cover and middle partition: black border with a central roundel with large, standing bird surrounded by clouds and geometric motifs. Bottom level, removable partitions of thin wood, each red with black and blue stylized birds on inside bottom.		Head compartment (NW corner): lacquer yu jars, earcups, pan, a wooden table	Ibid.
16b						Wood round 3				Head compartment (SW corner): lacquer earcups, pan, yu jar	Ibid.
16c						Wood round 3				Just beside male inner coffin: wooden figurines, lacquer square pan, wooden horse, chariot parts, wooden cow, seated wooden figurines	Ibid.
16d						Wood round 3				Male inner coffin: bronze mirror, lacquer horsehoof box, lacquer zun, bamboo strips, 2 long zhi 簪 hairpins	Ibid.
16e						Wood round 3				Female Inner coffin: long zhi 簪 hairpin, lacquer boxes: horsehoof, oval, ju 矩 shaped, small square, powder, & small round boxes	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (Year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletary case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletary Case Decor	Toiletary Case Contents	Location of toiletary case & associated items	Reference
17	Hubei Jingzhou Gaotai 湖北荆州高台 (1992) M33	E WH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo; a foot chamber, & two side compartments. Doors/windows on dividing walls.	Between the 6 th and 9 th rank of nobility.	Wood round (curved cover and bottom, extends over most of the body) 2		Dense red and blue cloud patterns with large leopards and beasts in a central roundel on the cover. 3 rings of décor surround, with cloud and bird patterns, and ducks swirls and dots. Body is similar, with geometric patterns as well. Inside cover and middle level: black lacquer with cloud filled roundel at center. 2 characters were branded on underside.	Inside bottom: separated into 5 sections. Inner coffin: 2 unidentified objects	Ibid.	
18	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北云梦 睡虎地 (1975) M1	E WH: Reign of Emper or Hui (195- 188 BCE)		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.28 long x 1.5 wide) with mound, guan-guo, with side compartment	Landlord status	Wood (rolled) round 1		Inside red, outside black lacquer. Reddish brown decorative patterns.		Side compartment: pottery vessels, wooden figurines, and some deteriorated lacquer, wooden <i>bi</i> disc.	Yunmeng Xian Wenwu Gongzuo Zu 1981
19	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北云梦 睡虎地 (1975) M35	E WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.02 long x 1.35 wide) with mound, guan-guo, with head compartment	Landlord status	Wood (rolled) round 1		Inside red, outside black lacquer. Reddish brown decorative patterns.		Inner coffin: bronze mirror, wooden <i>shu</i> and <i>bi</i> comb set.	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
20	Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 湖北運夢 睡虎地 (1975) M47	E WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.6 long x 3.26 wide) with guan-guo, head & side compartments. Doors found between coffin and head compartments (1), and coffin and side compartments (2)		Round, rolled wood 1; 7.8 diam x 5 tall		Inside red lacquer, outside black with red or brown twists and turns on cover and geometric patterns in surrounding registers. Body has angles and waves.			Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1986
21	Hubei Yunmeng Longgang 湖北運夢龍崗 (1989) M5	E WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4 long x 2.6 wide) with guan-guo and ercengtai.	Upper level commoner?	Round wood		Plain lacquer: inside red, outside black.			Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1990
22a	Hubei Yunmeng Dafentou 湖北運夢 大紋頭 (1979) M1	E WH		Rectangular vertical shaft tomb (3.5 long x 1.82 wide): guan-guo with head & side compartments	Probably a lower level official	Wood round (curved cover) 1; 14 tall, bottom 22.5 diam, 24 cover diam		Inside red lacquer; outside black. Inside bottom and cover each have the incised character, <i>zui</i> 最		Side compartment	Hubei Sheng Bowuguan et al 1973; Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1981
22b						Wood round 2; 21.6 cm mouth; cover 22.5; 4.4 tall; bottom level: 20.9 cm; 22.5 cover; 3.5 tall		Bottom level has red & brown lacquer and gold lozenge patterns; top level has red lacquer and gold cloud and bird patterns; and the cover has red brown lacquer with gold cloud and bird patterns.	bronze mirror, jade <i>bi</i> , one <i>shu</i> and three <i>bi</i> combs and two wooden <i>gua</i> scraper knives	Head compartment	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
23a	Hubei Xiangyang Leigutai 湖北襄陽 擂鼓台 (1978) M1	E WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.4 long x 2.9 wide), with double guan & guo, head & side compartments—doors between these and coffin compartment; between head and side, there is an opening. 2 layers of stone in shaft. Both coffins painted lacquer: outside is all black; inside, red in; black out	Lower than <i>daifu</i> , but higher than 縣丞	Wood round; 8.8 tall x 23.8 diam		No cover when excavated. Inside red lacquer, outside black. On top of black are painted red clouds transforming into birds, lozenge, and net patterns. Central roundel of clouds inside matches that on the vessel above.		Side compartment: Lacquer and pottery vessels—most objects were buried in the side compartment.	Xianyang Diqu Bowuguan 1979
23b						Wood round (curved cover; flat bottom); 14.5 tall x 20 diam		Only cover remained. Swelling cover with red inside, no painted decorated. Outside black, with red-dotted background with singular cloud-bird motifs.		Side compartment: Lacquer and pottery vessels—most objects were buried in the side compartment.	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
23c						Wood round 1; 9.7 tall x 25 diam		Cover has a roundel of painted cloud patterns surrounded by registers of geometric patterns. Inside cover has an inner rounded of sparse cloud patterns, and an outer register with four groupings of figures and beasts separated by trees. Bottom inside is similar to inside cover design, including groupings of figures and beasts among trees. Underside of bottom has sparse cloud patterns.		Side compartment: Lacquer and pottery vessels—most objects were buried in the side compartment.	Ibid.
24	Hubei Shashi Xiaojia Caochang 湖北沙市 蕭家耳場 (1992) XM26	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (5.2 long x 3.7 wide) with guan-guo, head & side compartments. Painted coffin: outside black; inside red. Hempen coffin covering?	M: 40-50	Round 1; 12.8 tall x 20.4 diam (body diam: 19.6)		Inside red lacquer, outside black. On borders of the cover and the body exterior are some stamped character symbols.		Head compartment: lacquer vessels, wooden carts	Hubei Sheng Jingzhou Shi Zhouliangyuqi ao Yizhi Bowuguan 1999

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25	Hubei Suizhou Kongjiapo 湖北随州 孔家坡 (1999) M8	E WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.86 long x 2.6 wide), guan-guo, with goods placed to the north and east.		Round (slightly indented cover; slightly rounded bottom) 1; (15 x 21.5 body) cover: 16.8 tall x 23.4 diam		inside red lacquer, outside black		lacquer sword, wooden du, comb, wooden pearl, earcup etc.	Hubei Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Suizhou Shi Wenwu Ju 2001
26a	Hunan Changsha Mawangdui 湖南长沙 马王堆 (1973) M1	WH: after 168 BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft with 4 surrounding compartments, 3 coffins	Lady Li, wife of the Marquis of Dai	Cover and sides of fabric; bottoms of wood (small boxes are of fabric), round, 2 levels; 20.8 tall x 35.2 diam	9	Wrapped in silk. Painted black/brownish lacquer with gold foil, on top of which are painted patterns. On the entire surface, as well as the inside cover and the partitions inside, there are gold, white, and red cloud patterns. Black is used for the patterned border on the cover and the mouth of the vessel. The boxes inside have similar decoration, but are not uniform in style.	Top level has partitions, but on top were 8.8. Bottom level: 9 box-shaped partitions with 9 boxes: in oval, white substance; round, silk hair extensions; round, powder substance and powder puff; round, rouge; round: oily substance and powder puff; horsehoof, horn and wooden shu and bi comb sets (4); rectangular, oily substance; rectangular, 2 needle silk sacs and 2 brushes.	Head compartment (NW): embroidered silk scent sac, lacquer table and embroidered tablecloth, embroidered lined gown, embroidered pillow and cloth, lacquer 5-box toiletory case, lacquer screen, a bunch of tin bell-shaped objects, curtain, lacquer eating and drinking vessels on a tray with chopsticks, lacquer vessels, 2 pairs of shoes, and wooden figurines.	Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Zhongguo Kexue Yuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1973

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26b						<p>Rolled wood (3 small boxes are of fabric), round, 1; 15 tall x 34 diam</p>	5	<p>Wrapped in silk. Body, inside cover, and bottom center are all painted black brownish lacquer with red cloud patterns. Top of cover has red and green cloud and geometric patterns. Outside walls and bottom border, inside border have red lozenge and geometric patterns. Inside small boxes, red lacquer, outside, black brownish with painted leaf patterns.</p>	<p>Bronze mirror, mirror wipe, a set of three horn ring-headed knives, hairpin, tweezers, a seal, wooden <i>shubi</i> comb set, and 5 boxes: 3 round have cosmetic substances; inside of large round, a red silk cloth with <i>huajiao</i> (prickly ash) on top; inside another box, fragrant grasses.</p>	<p>Head compartment (NW): embroidered silk scent sac, lacquer table and embroidered tablecloth, embroidered lined gown, embroidered pillow and cloth, lacquer 9-box toiletry case, lacquer screen, a bunch of tin bell-shaped objects, curtain, lacquer eating and drinking vessels on a tray with chopsticks, lacquer vessels, 2 pairs of shoes, and wooden figurines.</p>	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case # body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
27a	Hunan Changsha Mawangdui 湖南长沙 馬王堆 (1973) M3	WH: 168 BCE		Rectangular vertical shaft with 4 surrounding compartments, 4 coffins	Son of Marquis of Dai	Fabric round 2; 18 tall x 32.5 diam		Outside is black lacquer, inside red. On borders, incised cloud and lozenge/geometric patterns. Top of cover center, a long-winged beast amid dense cloud patterns, with other beasts near the borders (fish, rodents, rabbit, etc.) Similar roundel on the inside cover and vessel, with a bird at the center. On the body, similar décor with a hunting scene, beasts, and a figure riding a tiger.	Bottom level: 3 silk belts, a bundle of deteriorated silk, a bundle of faux hair extensions, a bone object with hole, and 5 small wooden rods.	Head compartment: location not clear in numbered layout.	Hunan Sheng Bowuguan and Henan Sheng/Wenwu Kaogu Yanjusuo 2004

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279						Fabric round 2; 17.5 tall x 29 diam	6	<p>Outside black lacquer; inside red. Cover décor has incised patterns in 14 ringed registers, alternating from cloud patterns—one with beasts in a cloud-filled landscape—to geometric patterns, dots, feathers, etc. Middle separating level (top and bottom), inside cover, and inside bottom have a roundel of cloud patterns surrounded by painted red dots and lines. Some small boxes have décor inside.</p>	<p>Top level: a bundle of silk, wooden <i>jiubo</i> die, horn mirror, 2 horn <i>shubi</i> comb sets, a wooden <i>shubi</i> comb set, iron ring-headed knife, silk mirror wipe, and 2 lacquer-handled brushes. Bottom level, 5 boxes: horsehoof, wooden <i>shubi</i> set; small round, black pasty substance (lead); larger round, listed as paste 蘭膏; rectangular, horn tweezers, horn <i>zan</i> 簪 hairpin, bamboo <i>ji</i> 笄 hairpin; small round & oval said to have <i>zhi</i> 脂.</p>	<p>Head compartment (NW): 2-leveled painted toiletry case, lacquer table, 2-leveled rectangular case, silk, painted figurines, small lacquered <i>zhi</i> cup, lacquer weapon rack, a pottery lamp, and a lacquer tray with food vessels.</p>	ibid.

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27c						Fabric round 2; 16.9 tall x 24.1 diam		Outside black lacquer, over which are painted cloud, lozenge, and geometric patterns in mineral pigments of red and green, and outlined and dotted with raised white lines.	Bottom level: a bronze mirror	Head compartment (NW): 2-leveled 6-box toiletry case, lacquer table, 2-leveled rectangular case, silk, painted figurines, small lacquered zhi cup, lacquer weapon rack, a pottery lamp, and a lacquer tray with food vessels.	Ibid.
27d						Fabric rectangular 2; 21 tall x 48.5 long x 25.5 wide		Outside black lacquer, inside red. Painted red and green cloud & geometric patterns with white, raised outlines (similar to case listed above). Bottom walls do not have décor.	Mash guan 𪛗, cap, as well as attached silk, wooden rods, etc.	Head compartment (NW): 2-leveled 6-box toiletry case, lacquer table, 2-leveled polychrome round case, silk, painted figurines, small lacquered zhi cup, lacquer weapon rack, a pottery lamp, and a lacquer tray with food vessels.	Ibid.
28a	Hunan Changsha Tangjialing 湖南长沙 棠家岭 (1963) M1	LWH: Xuan or Yuan		Rectangular vertical shaft (6.8 long x 5.3 wide), with sloped ramp. Coffin in the center with space all around; from east, a drainage ditch leads to the coffin.	Of the ruling class (had imperial clothing)	Wood rectangular 1; 30 long x 23 wide	10	Silver-rimmed with bronze knobs and incised bird & cloud patterns	iron pincers and 2 iron knives, egg-shaped stone, 3 finger rings, long stone form, a semi-spherical stone, & a bronze mirror.		Hunan Sheng Bowuguan 1966
28b						round		silver-rimmed, black lacquer, with gold foil chariots and cloud patterns	small boxes & bronze mirror		Ibid.
28c						round					Ibid.

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29a	Hunan Changsha Xianjiahu Cao Zhuan 湖南长沙咸家湖曹家湾 (1974)	MWH: Wu Zhao or Xuan	x	Huangchang ticou	Female: Cao Zhuan 曹[攸+巽]	round	9	square pattern borders with registers of cloud patterns			Changsha Shi Wenhua Ju Wenwu Zu 1979
29b						Round	1 1	square pattern borders with registers of cloud patterns			Ibid.
30	Hunan Changsha Wujialing (1951) M203	L WH	x	10.9 long x 4.55 wide, with front, middle and back (2 coffins) wooden chambers, a ramp, and mound. Front chamber is deeper than middle and back. Doors are located at the front chamber, indicating that goods & coffin were brought in via the ramp.	Couple: a lacquer cup in the middle chamber has the character surname, <i>Jia</i> 賈.	Round?	2	Larger toiletry case not described. One smaller lian (oval): they are fabric bodied, red lacquer inside and dark brown outside; golden yellow geometric, plant and animal designs. Silver persimmon motif on top of cover	2 small boxes were found near the larger toilet case.	Middle chamber: bronze ding and pen basins, pottery guan and other pottery vessels, lacquer earcups and pan, two large lacquer platters, bronze mirror.	Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1957
31	Hunan Changsha Yangliadashan (1951) M401	L WH	X	20.34 long x 13.7 wide, with a back chamber and 2 front, ear chambers (E & W), and a ramp. Doors are located at the front chamber, indicating that goods & coffin were brought in via the ramp.		Oval fabric; 10.1 long x 6.3 wide		Inside red lacquer, outside purplish- brown with golden yellow scroll designs.		Eastern ear chamber: lacquer fragments, bronze cover to a bow(?), bronze ornaments, bronze ring, lacquer pan	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
32	Hunan Yuanling Huxishan 湖南沅陵 虎溪山 (1999) M1	WH: Wen (162 BCE)		Rectangular vertical shaft with a ramp: guan-guo with head and side compartments, and two other satellite compartments adjacent to head		Fabric; 4 tall x 4.4 diam		Red lacquer with incised cloud patterns.		Inner coffin: another lacquer <i>lian</i> (larger <i>lian</i> ?), a bronze mirror, name seal ("英阳"), jade <i>bi</i> , and lacquer fragments	Hunan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al 2003.
33a	Anhui Tianchang Sanjiaoxu 安徽天长 三角圩 (1991) M1	M-L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo, head (foot?) compartment	MF M is an official of King Liu, in charge of receptions for the Guangling kingdom (identified by 5 seals)	Fabric round (curved cover, slightly indented bottom) 1; 12 tall x 14 diam	5	Cover has silver persimmon surrounded by 6 silver mounts; body as 4 silver mounts. Between mounts are painted cloud patterns. On mouth of cover, triangular geo motifs. Inside cover, 4 dragons amidst clouds.			Anhui Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Tianchang Xian Wenwu Guanli Suo 1993
33b						Fabric round (curved cover; flat bottom) 1; 9.5 tall x 9.2 diam	?	Cover has silver persimmon. Both cover and body have 3 silver mounts each. Body has gold and silver foil animals, including a 9-tailed fox.			Ibid.
33c						Fabric round 1; 7.9 tall x 10 diam	?	No cover. Body has 3 gold and silver mounts, within which are gold and silver foil beast and geo patterns.			Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
33d						Fabric round (curved cover; flat bottom) 1; 12.5 tall x 20 diam	5	Silver persimmon on cover surrounded by 3 silver mounts. 4 silver mounts on body, within which are painted cloud patterns. Black geo patterns inside cover and body near the mouth of the vessel.			Ibid.
33e						Fabric round (curved cover; slightly indented bottom) 2; 12.5 tall x 12.4 diam	3	Silver persimmon on cover surrounded by 5 silver mounts. 3 silver mounts on body, within which are painted cloud patterns. Middle level has a silver mount and the cover and inside of the vessel have painted black cloud patterns.	Middle level has a rounded cover, and has 3 partitions, within which are 3 small horsehoof boxes. Inside, 2 horn <i>bi</i> , 2 wooden <i>bi</i> , 2 wooden <i>shu</i> combs		Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
34	Anhui Tianchang 安徽天长安樂 (2004) M19	MWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3 long x 1.8 wide), guan-guo with head and side compartments.	Mr. Xie Meng, a powerful official of Dongyang County	Fabric round (curved cover; slightly indented bottom) 2, plus tray at top; 10.6 tall x 12.8 diam		Silver persimmon motif on cover surrounded by a silver mount and cloud patterns. Body has cloud patterns and beasts. Inside cover over middle section has a silver persimmon surrounded by cloud patterns and a swimming and standing dragon. Inside bottom also has painted décor.	Three partitions inside, called comb boxes	Inner coffin: iron sword, belt hook, iron <i>xue jing</i> knives(2), bronze mirror	Tianchang Wenwu Guanli Suo and Tianchang Shi Bowuguan 2006
35	Anhui Huoshan 安徽霍山 (1986) M1	WH	x	Rectangular vertical shaft, guan-guo (3.9 long x 2.45 wide) with 2 coffins & 4 surrounding compartments		Wood round 1; 13 tall x 19.5 diam		Cover of thick wood. Outside black, inside red lacquer. Cover has red lines and geometric patterns, and at center are clouds and dots. Top and bottom registers of cover body have lines and clouds.		Foot compartment: wooden comb set, bronze mirror, polychrome pottery guan, pottery hu, lacquer table, wooden die & pottery game board, bronze sword, wooden figurines	Anhui Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Huoshan Xian Wenwu Guanli Suo 1991
36a	Anhui Huoshan 安徽霍山 (1986) M3	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.5 long x 2.4 wide), single coffin in the center with space at either side.		Pottery round (curved cover; rounded bottom) 1; 13.6 tall x 20.6 diam (bottom diam: 18)		Grey pottery. Cover has three ringed registers with line patterns.		Side compartment	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
36b						Wood round (flat cover and bottom) 1; 15.6 tall x 29.1 diam (body 27.6)		Cover and bottom are rather thick wood. Painted black with red decorations. On cover are cloud patterns and triangles at the border. Body has triangular border with cloud patterns and beasts. Interior: red clouds in painted black central roundel.		Side compartment	Ibid.
37a	Anhui Huoshan 安徽霍山 (1986) M4	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.1 long x 2.4 wide), single coffin at center with space at either side and at feet		Pottery round (curved cover; rounded bottom) 1; 15 tall x 19.8 diam (bottom diam: 16.5)		Gray pottery. No decoration.			Ibid.
37b						Wood round (curved cover with bronze knobs; flat bottom) 1; 11.4 tall x 16 diam		Cover has 3 bronze knobs, and a beast amid cloud patterns. 3 bronze animal-headed feet. Cover and bottom thick wood. Inside: red lacquer with black cloud patterns.			Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
38a	Anhui Fuyang Shuanggudui 安徽阜陽 雙古堆 (1977) M1	WH: 165 BOE	x	Rectangular vertical shaft (9.2 long x 7.65 wide), guan-guo, and ramp (4.1 wide); the south wall of guo was a set of doors, and a second set was constructed just 75 cm. into the guo.	M: Marquis of Ruyin, Xia Houzao	Fabric round 1; 9.5 tall x 29 diam	1	Cover has a silver persimmon. Silver mounts, with registers of incised cloud patterns, bordered by geometric patterns.	Rectangular box, silver hairpin, and a bronze mirror	SE corner of head compartment: lacquer hu, earcups, wooden figurines, melon seeds	Nanjing Bowuyuan and Lianyungang Shi Bowuguan et al 1978
38b						Fabric rectangular 1; 9 tall x 28.5 long x 21.5 wide	4	Incised cloud patterns	3 small rectangular boxes and one horsehoof box	Near SW corner of head compartment: lacquer handled sword, earcup, lacquer/pottery guan, lacquer pan, lacquer spittoon?	Ibid.
38c						Fabric rectangular 1; 9 tall x 28.5 long x 21.5 wide	4	Incised cloud patterns	3 small rectangular boxes and one horsehoof box	Near SW corner of head compartment: lacquer handled sword, earcup, lacquer/pottery guan, lacquer pan, lacquer spittoon?	Ibid.
39	Anhui Fuyang Shuanggudui 安徽阜陽 雙古堆 (1977) M2	WH: earlier than M1	x	Rectangular vertical shaft (5.35 long x 3.3 wide), guan-guo, and ramp. south wall of guo was a set of doors, and a second set was constructed just 75 cm. into the guo.	F: wife of Marquis of Ruyin	Fabric round 1; 12 tall x 30.5 diam	2	Incised cloud patterns	Rectangular and horsehoof boxes	Head compartment: Bronze mirror, earcups, pottery boxes, pan and yu vessels	Ibid.
40	Jiangsu Hanjiang Huchang 江蘇邳江胡場 (1979) M1	M-L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft, guan-guo (3.72 x 2 m); coffin, head & side compartments	F: 45-50	Fabric round 2; 14 tall x 20 diam.	7	geometric and cloud patterns; silver foil animals	bronze mirror; horsehoof box had 2 shu and 2 bi combs	Head compartment lacquer items: pan, earcup, below were lots of tomb figurines. 14 lacquer si 爵 food containers, each with descriptive labels	Yangzhou Bowuguan and Hanjiang Xian Wenhua Guan 1980

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41	Jiangsu Hanjiang Huchang 江蘇荊江胡場 (1979) M2	L WH	X	Rectangular vertical shaft, guan-guo (4.48 x 4.08m): coffin (3), head & side compartments	MFF	round		Inlaid with gold foil (only in fragments)			Ibid.
42	Jiangsu Hanjiang Huchang 江蘇荊江胡場 (1979) M3	M-L WH	X			Fabric round	7		combs, brush, "etc."	Head compartment?	Ibid.
43a	Jiangsu Hanjiang Huchang 江蘇荊江胡場 (1979) M5	M WH		Rectangular vertical shaft: 2 guo, a coffin in each. Male guo had a side compartment; coffin has painted doors, sun/moon and bi discs facing female coffin. Female guo: 2.33 long x .86 wide; male guo: 2.32 long x 1.3 wide.	M: ~30 Wang Fengshi, a shi or the first level or lower official; F: ~20	wood round 1; small boxes are fabric; 13 tall x 21.5 diam.	7	brown lacquer with red geometric patterns; inside red lacquer	3 combs in horsehoof, bronze brush in small round; at bottom, star and cloud mirror	Female inner coffin: small rectangular box, pillow, small round box	Yangzhou Bowuguan and Hanjiang Xian Tushuguan 1981

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43b						Bamboo round, 8 tall x 11.5 diam.	1 ?	brown lacquer outside; red inside. At center of cover silver foil persimmon; walls have 3 silver foil tigers, borders outlined in red.	Inscribed bronze mirror: "久不相 见。长毋相忘 (long we haven't met, long we don't forget); bronze brush and brush with 4 teeth; horsehoof box with 3 shu and bi combs and a seal (one side: 王印季世; other 王印少孙. This is a set with another seal at the waist of the male occupant)	Male inner coffin: woven fragments, bronze seal, iron sword, jade ornament, bronze coins, bronze xue knife, 3 bone hairpins	Ibid.
44a	Jiangsu Hanjiang Yaozhuang 江蘇江姚莊 (1984) M101	M WH		Rectangular vertical shaft tomb (5.1 long x 3.1 wide): <i>guan-guo</i> with head, side, and foot compartments	MF Middle level military officer	Wood square (indented cover; flat bottom) 1; 14.2 long x 10 tall		Plain: outside black lacquer, inside red	Black folded silk, probably a cap	Male inner coffin: head cover, bronze: mirror, bowl, box, belt hook, and seal (no characters); wooden sword and two hand grasps, iron xue knives, pillow, a bundle of fragrant material	Yangzhou Bowuguan 1988

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44b						Wood rectangular (indented cover with bronze knobs; flat bottom with b. knobs) 1; 32.5 long x 17.5 wide x 17 tall		Bronze knobs; painted brownish lacquer. At the center of the cover, red cloud patterns surrounded by lozenge and geo patterns, cloud patterns and beasts.	<i>Daiban</i> , bamboo ruler, and polychrome lacquer tubular sheath	Male inner coffin: see previous entry	Ibid.
44c						Wood round (curved cover; flat bottom) 1; 14.5 tall x 22.5 diam	7	Center of cover is a silver persimmon set with agate stones. Silver mounts, and in- between, silver foil feathered figures kneeling and playing music, riding wolves, <i>Jiubo</i> , chariots, & hunting, among clouds and landscape. Inside vessel is red with lozenge geo patterns at mouth, and cloud patterns on bottom.	Gold inlaid bronze tools in one rectangular box; small wooden spoon; brownish watery powder in another rectangular; white powder in round; deep red powder in square; and black powder in oval.	Male inner coffin: see previous entry	Ibid.

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44d						Wood round (curved cover; flat bottom) 1; 11 tall x 11.6 diam		Center of cover has a silver, 4-petalled persimmon; silver mounts on cover and body, with cloud patterns and small birds, clouds and mountains; also relatively unusual figures: celestial beings, animals, some roaming freely, others romp and play		Female inner coffin: lacquer head covering, pillow, 2 wooden oval eye covers (holes at each end), a wooden handle & sword, figurine, 2 noseplugs, 5 <i>chai</i> hairpins, 6 <i>shu</i> and <i>bi</i> combs (<i>shu</i> 24 teeth; <i>bi</i> 97), 2 oval lacquer boxes, 2 bamboo tubes, 2 bronze bowls, a bronze brush and mirror, 3 iron <i>xue</i> , a bone ruler, and a string of precious stones	Ibid.
44e						Wood round 1; 13 tall x 21 diam	7	Silver persimmon at center of cover inset with yellow agate; each of the four petals inset with heart- shaped red agate. Silver mounts with painted cloud patterns, animals and feathered figures. Smaller boxes are similar (agate).	<i>Shu</i> and <i>bi</i> combs; in rectangular box was a t-shaped wooden board, on top of which was a 5-toothed wooden <i>zhi</i> 簪 hairpin	Female inner coffin: see previous entry	Ibid.

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45	Jiangsu Hanjiang Yaozhuang 江蘇江都姚莊 (1984) M102	L WH, XM	X	Rectangular vertical shaft (5.38 long x 3.31 wide) with guan-guo, head & foot, and 2 side compartments. Lacquered coffins, black outside, red inside.	MF	Fabric round (curved cover; flat bottom) 1; 17 tall x 22 diam	7	Silver persimmon at center of cover, surrounded by 3 silver mounts and 2 silver ridges. The cover body has 2 silver mounts. Body is painted dark reddish purple, inside dark red. Between the mounts, earthy yellow cloud patterns, plum blossoms, feathered figures, & golden pheasants. Inside cover: brown cloud & dragon patterns		Female inner coffin: lacquer head covering, bronze & agate seals, 2 jade pigs, inlaid gold knife-shaped coins, iron sword, string of jade beads, bronze mirror, lacquer fan, wooden hand grasps, bronze & lacquer rulers, bamboo case, pillow, a wooden carving of an old woman's face.	Yangzhou Bowuguan 2000
46	Jiangsu Hanjiang Ganquan "Qie Mo Shu" 江蘇江都甘泉 葉莫書 (1977)	L WH: Yuan or Ping	X	(large-scale) Rectangular vertical shaft (7 long x 4.5 wide) with guan-guo & ramp. 1 meter remains of mound. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside.	F: a silver seal identifies her as Qie Moshu, and location and goods indicated that she was possibly a member of the royal Liu family			Lacquers are described as having bronze or silver inlay, gold and silver foil, and painted red, black, green and yellow decoration. Also some incised patterns.			Yangzhou Shi Bowuguan 1980
47	Jiangsu Pingshan Yangzhichang 江蘇平山養殖場 (1983) M1	M-L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.65 long), guan-guo with 2 coffins and a head compartment	MF	Thin wood round 1; 12 tall x 18 diam		Inside red lacquer, outside painted plain black.		Female coffin: lacquer head covering, bone zhi 簪 hairpin, 2 wooden shu 梳 combs, bronze brush, bronze coins, 2 jade ornaments, 2 lacquer handles	Yangzhou Bowuguan 1987

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48a	Jiangsu Pingshan Yangzhichang 江蘇平山養直 場 (1983) M3	M-L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.04 long x 1.94 wide), guan-guo with 2 coffins and a head compartment	MF	Thin wood round 1; 9.5 tall x 15 diam		Painted lacquer	Mirror and wooden shu comb	Female coffin: bronze coins	Ibid.
48b						Thin wood round 1; 9.5 tall x 15 diam		Painted lacquer	Mirror and wooden shu comb	Male inner coffin: glass ear and nose plugs, jade mouth piece, iron xue [?] knife, bronze belt hook, iron sword	Ibid.
49	Jiangsu Dongfeng Zhuanwa 江蘇東風磚瓦 (1974) M8	L WH/X M		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.2 long x 1.92 wide), with two coffins and a foot compartment; windows/doors between compartments	MF	fabric round 1; 15 tall x 16 diam	5	Painted red and brown lacquer	Mirror	Female inner coffin: Comb, coins, pearls	Yangzhou Bowuguan 1982
50	Jiangsu Hanjiang Ganquan 江蘇邳江甘泉 (1980) M2	L WH, E XM	X	Brick chambered, arched tomb (NS 8.8 x EW 9.6) with entrance, front and side chambers, plus two coffin sections. Grave mound.	MF: perhaps Liu Jing, king of Guangling (based on lamp inscription and location)	Wood square 2; 10 tall x 33.5 sides	1 0	Outside black, inside red lacquer. Cover has a bronze frame and persimmon motifs. Frame has 4 bronze buttons, 4- petalled persimmons inlaid with 5 crystal buttons. 9 smaller boxes have bronze frames, with sides and cover of wood. Similarly decorated and inlaid with crystal and amber buttons.	top level: silk- wrapped iron mirror, rectangular box with inkstone. Bottom level: 9 boxes, which contain shu and bi combs, bronze brush, pen, colored powder lumps, etc.	Coffin space: Bronze lamp	Nanjing Bowuguan 1981

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51	Jiangsu Yizheng Xupu 江蘇儀徵徐浦 (1986?) M101	5 CE, or L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.15 long x 2.73 wide) with guan-guo, head & side spaces; walls and doors on eastern (front) wall of tomb. 2 painted coffins.	Relatively low status, but probably a landowner	wood		deteriorated		In head space: lacquer box, lacquer pan, wooden table, tomb figurines, inkstone, lacquer spoon, rectangular lacquer cover, etc.	Yangzhou Bowuyuan 1987
52	Jiangsu Yizheng Zhangji Tuanshan 江蘇儀徵張集 團山 (1990) M1	WH: (153- 127 BCE)		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.3 long x .76- .86 wide) with coffin and four surrounding compartments. Under the cover of the coffin, a carved wooden board, black and red lacquer with gold and silver designs.	F; companion burial to the Prince of Jiangdu	Wood round 1; 35.6 diam x 16 tall	4	Painted black lacquer outside; red inside. Painted designs include red and brown clouds and geometric patterns; on cover, flower patterns with traces of gold.	Bronze mirror; comb set in horsehoof box.	In head compartment, NW corner (cf. Mawangdui): glazed pottery cups, spoons, a bronze seal, small bronze bells, liu bo pieces, bronze instrument pieces	Nanjing Bowuyuan and Yizheng Bowuyuan Choubai Bangongshi 1992
53	Jiangsu Yizheng Zhangji Tuanshan 江蘇儀徵張集 團山 (1990) M2	WH: (153- 127 BCE)		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.9 long x 1.8 wide) with coffin and side compartments.	F; companion burial to the Prince of Jiangdu	Wood round 1; 30.2 diam x 16 tall	4	Painted black lacquer outside; red inside. Red and bronze painted designs: cloud and geometric patterns, a form of the Qin-style "b" motif. Boxes inside are all different designs.	Bronze mirror; comb set in horsehoof box.	Side compartment: near glazed pottery ding vessels and boxes, wooden figurines, as well as other pottery vessels and lacquer cups.	Ibid.
54	Jiangsu Yizheng Zhangji Tuanshan 江蘇儀徵張集 團山 (1990) M3	WH: (153- 127 BCE)		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.96 long x 1.76 wide) with coffin and side compartments.	F; companion burial to the Prince of Jiangdu	Wood round 1; 26.4 diam x 13.2 tall	4	Painted black lacquer outside; red inside. Painted designs in red and brown: clouds, hooks, curls, dots.	Bronze mirror; comb set in horsehoof box.	Inner coffin: no other items.	Ibid.

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55	Jiangsu Xuchi Dongyang 江苏盱眙东阳 (1974) M2	MWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.6 long x 1.8 wide) with guan-guo and side compartment; lattice windows at division.	Landlord or official?	Fabric round			Not described (but specified as <i>zhuang lian</i> 妝奩)			Nanjing Bowuyuan 1979
56	Jiangsu Xuchi Dongyang 江苏盱眙东阳 (1974) M3	MWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.5 long x 1.79 wide) with guan-guo and side compartment; lattice windows at division.	Landlord or official?	Fabric			Not described (but specified as <i>zhuang lian</i> 妝奩)			Ibid.
57	Jiangsu Xuchi Dongyang 江苏盱眙东阳 (1974) M4	LWH, XMI		Rectangular vertical shaft (3 long x 2.1 wide) with double guan & guo	MF: Landlord or official?				Not described (but specified as <i>zhuang lian</i> 妝奩)			Ibid.
58	Jiangsu Xuchi Dongyang 江苏盱眙东阳 (1974) M5	MWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.5 long x 1.46 wide) with guan-guo and side compartment; lattice windows at division	M (paired with M6): Landlord or official?				Not described (but specified as <i>zhuang lian</i> 妝奩)			Ibid.
59	Jiangsu Xuchi Dongyang 江苏盱眙东阳 (1974) M6	MWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.64 long x 1.48 wide) with guan-guo and side compartment; lattice windows at division. Carvings on walls of guo?	F (paired with M5): Landlord or official?				Not described (but specified as <i>zhuang lian</i> 妝奩)		Inner coffin: 2 wooden combs, lacquer pillow, bronze mirror, smaller boxes (all contents of larger <i>lian</i> ?)	Ibid.

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60a	Jiangsu Xuchi Dongyang 江苏盱眙东阳 (1974) M7	LWH, XMI		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.35 long x 2.28 wide) with double guan & guo and foot compartment.	MF: Landlord or official?	Fabric round		Not described (but specified as <i>zhuang lian</i> 妝奩)		Inner coffin, west (portrayed in layout drawing): two smaller lacquer boxes, bronze alms bowl, wooden seal, small wooden item, stone bead, bronze brush, daiban, small lacquered stick, lacquered head covering, wooden strips for writing, wuzhu coins.	Ibid.
60b						Fabric round		Not described (but specified as <i>zhuang lian</i> 妝奩)		Inner coffin: see previous entry	Ibid.
61	Jiangsu Xuchi Dongyang 江苏盱眙东阳 (1974) M01	MWH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.4 long x 2.46 wide) with double guan & guo. Carvings on walls of guo?	MF: Landlord or official?	Fabric round	7	Silver persimmon motif on covers of larger and smaller boxes. Bodies black lacquer; red inside. Bodies divided into registers with cloud and geometric patterns, with silver foil animals (cf. Shandong)	Bronze mirror, shubi comb set, bronze brush, "etc."		Ibid.

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62a	Jiangsu Siyang Chendun 江蘇泗陽陳墩 (2002) M1	M-L WH: Zhao or Xun		Rectangular vertical shaft (2.7 long x 2.4 wide), Guan-guo: coffin and side compartment	F: 35-50 relative of the King of Sishui 泗水 王, or high ranking nobility	Fabric round (curved cover; slightly indented bottom) 1; (9.3 tall x 16.6 diam: body) 11 tall x 17.5 diam	5	Silver foil persimmon at center of cover, set with agate stones on each petal and in center; cover and walls: gold and silver foil feathered figures, celestial animals, birds, cirrus designs; silver mounts	Iron tweezers in rectangular box	Female inner coffin: 2 horn hairpins, incense burner, 2 bronze seals (one inside incense burner: tortoise form: 張 廷憲; other, square with tiger incised on one side and 日光 on other), wooden cane, iron ornament, currency, jade ornaments, jade ring, jade plug, jade beads	Jiangsu Siyang Sanzhuang Lianhe kaogu Dui 2007
62b						Fabric round (curved cover; flat bottom) 1; (7.8 tall x 9.4 diam: body) 8.5 tall x 10.2 diam		Silver foil persimmon at center of cover, bordered by painted beasts and cloud patterns; cover and walls also have painted lacquer birds and beasts among cloud patterns. Inside the box at bottom are painted cloud patterns.	Comb set, bronze mirror	Female inner coffin: See above entry	Ibid.
63	Jiangsu Lianyungang Wangtuanzhuang 江蘇連雲港網 墩莊 (1962)	L WH- E EH		Guan-guo (2.7 long x 2.05 wide); two coffins, separated by a partition; a foot compartment beneath the female coffin (E)	MF	Fabric round 1; 14.5 tall x 22 diam	8	Outside black lacquer; inside red. Silver foil 4-petalled flower at center of cover; each leaf has a heart- shaped agate stone. Surrounding are lively scenes of figures and beasts, including a rabbit with the elixir of immortality, amidst painted vermillion clouds	Wooden shu comb in horsehoof box; 2 bronze handled brushes (with a dragon head, tongue extended and pierced by a hole to be worn) in one of the rectangular boxes	Foot compartment just below the coffin of female: wooden female figure, and polychrome pottery hu vessel (these are all of the items listed)	Nanjing Bowuguan 1963

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64	Jiangsu Lianyungang Huo He 江蘇連雲港 賀 (1973)	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.34 long x 2.65 wide) with guan-guo (2 coffins), a side space and foot compartment. Both coffins lacquered (M: brown outside, red inside; F: black outside, red inside)	M: 70+, F: 40+ M: seal identifies him as Huo He, and knife indicates a higher station than his burial shows—he is probably a middle level official.	Wood round 1 (rectangular also wood, the rest were fabric)	7	Inside red lacquer, outside black. Outside decorated with red painted cloud patterns. Silver persimmon on cover. Silver beasts decorate the cover and body, as well as other lifelike animals.	Small box: red rouge-like substance (determined as vulcanized mercury, or cinnabar); in horsehoof, wooden <i>shu bi</i> comb set	Nanjing Bowuyuan and Lianyungang Shi Bowuguan 1974	
65a	Jiangsu Lianyungang 江蘇連雲港 (1973)	M-L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft, guan-guo (4.9 long x [M] 3.2, [S] 3.37 wide), 2 guo (S [female] deeper than the N [male]); each have side compartments. Cover of F guo has painted decoration (perhaps silk remains)	MF: Tortoise headed seal identifies the M as 侍其桑 Shiqi Xi (double surname), and seal itself shows that he is a local official, perhaps a prefecture guard.	Wood round (curved cover, flat bottom) 1 (smaller boxes fabric)	5	Incised decorative patterns of clouds and animals. Smaller boxes similar, but covers have silver 4 or 3-petalled flowers.	3 combs (<i>shu</i> and <i>bi</i>) in the horsehoof box. Female inner coffin: bronze mirror, wooden <i>fang</i> 方, bone hairpin, <i>wuzhu</i> coins.	Nan 1975	

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65b						Wood round 1	?		3 combs in a horsehoof box?	Male inner coffin: pillow-shaped object, wooden <i>feng</i> 方, wooden book knife 書刀, wooden sword, wooden pillow, bronze belt hook, bronze mirror, bone hairpin, wooden cane (on top of coffin).	Ibid.
66	Shandong Linyi Jinqueshan Zhou shi 山東臨沂金雀山周氏 (1978) M14	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo (3.25 x 2m long) with side compartment, and an extra wood frame. Coffin is black with 33 inlaid gold persimmons on top, and black thread and gold persimmons at sides, plus black painted gov't gate and que towers	M	Fabric round (curved cover) 1; 10 tall x 19 diam		Plain black lacquer		Inner coffin: hairpin, cap (?), pillow, ring-headed knife (at waist), wuzhu coins, bronze belt hook, bronze seal (double faced: 周寬之, 周[]), shoes, shu bi combs, bronze sword	Linyi Shi Bowuguan 1984.
67	Shandong Linyi Jinqueshan 山東臨沂金雀山 (1983) M32	M WH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo (3.12 long x 2.35 wide) with side compartment		Fabric round (curved cover, flat bottom) 1; 12.2 tall x 17 diam (body diam: 16.2)	5	Inside and out a deep brown lacquer: cover has a silver persimmon motif surrounded by registers of painted cloud & geometric patterns and birds. 3 inlaid silver beasts amidst décor; same on body. 5 smaller boxes also have inlaid 3-4 petal motif and red-painted geometric patterns.	In the small round box, a bronze mirror	Inner coffin: lacquer zhi cup, bronze mirror (in addition to the one found inside the toiletry case), wooden shu comb, wooden pillow, wooden cup, wuzhu coins	Linyi Shi Bowuguan 1989

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68	Shandong Linyi Jinqueshan 山東臨沂金雀山 (1983) M33	M WH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo with side compartment (3.1 long x 2.2 wide)		Round				Inner coffin: bronze mirror, small lacquer box, pair of hempen shoes, iron sword and spear, iron ring-headed knife, bronze belt hook, leather belt, wuzhu coins, wooden pillow	Ibid.
69	Shandong Linyi Jinqueshan 山東臨沂金雀山 (1983) M34	M-L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo (2.76 long x 1.88 wide) with side compartment		Round	5		In situ: 2 bronze brushes (one like a pipe; the other, straight body), bronze mirror	Inner coffin: 3 shubi combs, bronze belt hook, wuzhu coins, iron sword, traces of a cap	Ibid.
70	Shandong Yishui Longquanzhan 山東沂水龍泉站 (1982) M1	M-L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.2 long x 1.3 wide) with guan-guo, side compartment and a space to the west of the coffin. Originally a tomb mound. Black lacquered coffin, red inside.	MF	Fabric round 1.5 tall x 7.2 diam	?	All toiletty cases have similar décor: outside painted reddish brown, inside red. Rolling leaf, cloud, and Y patterns. The larger case, drawing included, has a 4-leaf motif at the center of the cover, surrounded by the above patterns.	Note: based on report drawings, this toiletty case may be a smaller box from a larger case, possibly one pictured, which may have contained 4 smaller boxes.	No tomb layout provided	Shandong Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Yishui Xian Bowuguan 1999
71	Shandong Laixi Daishu 山東萊西岱墅 (1978) M1	L WH		Rectangular wooden-chambered tomb: guan-guo with head & side compartments	Wife of local government official, perhaps a kin or close official of the king of the Jiaodong kingdom 膠東國	Wood or fabric round 1.12 cm tall x 17 cm diam.	3	In the center of the cover is a silver foil persimmon; the cover and body have 3 silver foil tigers each, among cloud and leaf patterns	2 shu combs, 2 bi combs, bronze mirror with the inscription: 內清以昭明光天象 () 天日月心忽 天患然謹蓋港	Inner coffin: earplugs, stone ornaments, 3 wooden tiaocao 条, 2 zhi 簪 hairpins (with black and yellow decorative patterns), 2 noseplugs, jade pei 佩, string of pearls, jade bi and anus plug	Yantai Diqiu Wenwu Guanli zu and Laixi Xian Wenwu Guan 1980

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
72	Shandong Laixi Daishu 山東萊西 (1978) M2	L WH		Rectangular wooden-chambered tomb: guan-guo with foot & 2 side compartments	Local government official, perhaps a kin or close official of the king of the Jiaodong kingdom 胶东国	Fabric: No large box remaining	7	Polychrome painted		Inner coffin: 2 comb boxes, 2 powder boxes, 2 rouge boxes, 1 cosmetic tools box, square amber box, scissors, <i>bairu</i> 百乳 mirror, 3 jade <i>bi</i> , bronze sword, iron knife, wooden 杆 staff, 5 wooden fang 方, belt hook, wooden shoe bottoms, hairpin 簪, bone ornament, etc.	Ibid.
73a	Shandong Zhucheng 山東諸城 (1985)	M-L WH	X	Rectangular vertical shaft (3.26 long x 2.28 wide): double painted guo divided at center, and 2 coffins (incorp into guo) inside (bound with hempen chord; on bottom, a polychrome image), and a head compartment.	MF: a dominant person of the ancient city of Dongwu, Langye prefecture, or his relative		3			(male) inner coffin: wooden shu and bi combs, horn zhi 簪 hairpin, lacquered gauze, lacquer box, small lacquer hu, agate bead, bronze mirror, bronze incense burner.	Zhucheng Xian Bowuguan 1987
73b							3			(male) inner coffin: see above entry	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (Year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
73c						12.5 tall x 16.4 diam (body 9.4 tall x 14 diam)	3	Center of cover is a silver persimmon, with 4 silver mounts (top, shoulders, waist & mouth). Within registers, painted beasts, flowing clouds, flowers, etc. Inside cover and inside along the rim of the mouth are black painted decorative patterns. Inside the cover, additionally, a lifelike bird in flight.	Brush, bronze mirror. Inside the boxes: 2 wooden <i>shu</i> combs & 1 wooden <i>bi</i> ; in rectangular: white powder lumps.	(female) inner coffin: horn <i>zhi</i> 簪 hairpin, wooden pillow, also a polychrome (black, white, red, yellow, brown, etc.) painting of dragons amidst clouds.	Ibid.
74	Shandong Wulian Zhangjiazhonggu 山東五蓮張家 仲固 (1982) M3	M-L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.38 x 2.85m), guan-guo		Wood round; 14.2 x 27.5 diam	7	Only remaining were silver mounts (also on small boxes) and some lacquer fragments mixed with pearls, gold foil, and silver and bone animals	Bronze mirror and some traces of white and yellow powder	Inner coffin: Bronze mirror and a string of agate beads were at the head of the deceased. On top of the toiletry case at the leg was a bronze mirror	Weifang Shi Bowuguan and Wulian Xian Tushuguan 1987
75	Shandong Wendeng 山東文登 (1955)	L WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.8 long x 3.7 wide): two side compartments & space around the coffin		Fabric oval 1; 10 long x 7.8 wide	3	Black lacquer on outside, red on inside.	In one box, wooden <i>shu</i> and <i>bi</i> combs; another, wooden tweezers (with a ringed head and decorative patterns)	Inner coffin: lacquer cane and bronze mirror	Shandong Sheng Wenwu Guanli Chu 1957.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletty case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletty Case Decor	Toiletty Case Contents	Location of toiletty case & associated items	Reference
76a	Hebei Yangyuan Sanfengou 河北杨家庄三封沟 (1985) M9	WH: Wen (162 BCE)		Sloped cave burial with ramp, coffin (4.6 long x 2.4-6 wide) & side (4.5 long x 2.4 wide) chambers. Once tiled?		Wood rectangular 1; 10 tall x 35 long x 18 wide		along the width, and 1 on each end. Inside red lacquer, outside brown with geometric, rolling clouds and flying geese, deer, phoenix, & other animals. Rectangular box inside is red lacquer with a black phoenix surrounded by 4 geese	sections: hair, wooden <i>shu</i> and <i>bi</i> combs (set of 3), bronze brush, silk fabric, powder lumps, etc. (also, wooden ruler with rusted iron attached, silk, iron tweezers)	Female inner coffin: pottery stove, silver finger ring, glass bird & sheep, jade nose & ear plugs, jade eye covers, jade mouth piece, bronze mirror	Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo and Zhangjiakou Diqiu Wenwu Ju 1990
76b						Wood rectangular 1; 15 tall x 36 long x 17 wide		Inside red, outside brown. No ornamentation	Bronze mirror, wooden <i>shu</i> and <i>bi</i> (also, animal-headed knobs, bronze brush, blank bronze seal, iron tweezers, bone spoon, silk fragments, wooden bead, wooden pig, wooden <i>tiao</i> 条, bamboo fragment and <i>tiao</i>)	Male inner coffin: wooden flower petal objects, square wooden object, <i>wuzhu</i> coins, bamboo fragments	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletty case # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletty Case Decor	Toiletty Case Contents	Location of toiletty case & associated items	Reference
77	Hebei Mancheng 河北满城 (1968) M1	113 BCE		Multi-chambered, rock-cut mountain tomb. 51.7 m long; maximum width: 37.5 m (height: 6.8 m). Layout: tomb passage, entrance with two side chambers; main space is a central chamber with a small chamber to the south and the coffin chamber to the north	Liu Sheng, Prince Jing of the Zhongshan Kingdom	Wood round 1; 27 diam	8	Only fragments and metal ornamentation survived: red lacquer with silver mounts, ornamentation includes peals, gold foil [hammered], silver and bone animal forms (either inlaid or	Bronze mirror; small boxes had traces of yellow and white powders.	Central Chamber: close to coffin space, and near a lacquer box, iron swords, an iron sword/cane, lacquer pan.	Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Yuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Hebei Sheng Wenwu Guanli chu 1980.
78a	Hebei Mancheng 河北满城 (1968) M2	2 nd c. BCE		Multi-chambered, rock-cut mountain tomb. 49.7 m long 65 m wide (height: 7.9 m). Layout: tomb passage, entrance with two side chambers; main space is a central chamber with coffin, and a small side chamber to the east	Dou Wan, wife of Liu Sheng, Prince Jing of the Zhongshan Kingdom	Round; 30 diam	5	Only metallic ornamentation survived: silver mounts and petal motif with handles on top of horsehoof-shaped and rectangular boxes.		Central Chamber, near coffin and bronze frame, hu vessels	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case # of levels/ body/form #	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
78b						Fabric round; 25 diam	5	Only metallic ornamentation survived: gold and silver geometric border patterns on cover and cover sides within decorative registers on sides are cloud patterns that morph into mountains, landscapes inhabited by strange hairy and serpentine beasts. Petal motif on covers of vessels, inlaid with turquoise and agate.	Bronze mirror and a bundle of ring headed knives	Inner coffin, on the right leg of Dou Wan's jade suit. Also in the coffin: iron knife, jade ring, jade belt hook, jade figurine of a dancer, knob of a lacquered vessel, bronze pillow, jade seal, crystal seal, bronze seal, 9 jade body plugs	Ibid.
79a	Hebei Ding Xian 河北定縣 (1973) M40	WH	X	Two-chambered (front and back rooms) tomb with sloped ramp (altogether 61m long; widest is 11.4m). Large mound (90 m diam) and surrounding walls (145m x 127m). Structure is "huangchang ticou." 5 nested lacquered coffins; jade suit with gold thread inside.	Royal: Liu Xiu, Prince of Zhongshan Kingdom (55 BCE)			Silver mounts, gold foil decoration		Inner coffin: placed at right side of head of jade suit. Other items: 2 iron xue knives, iron sword, jade/iron sword, wuzhu coins, inkstones, 3 book knives, coiled-dragon sword, jade bi disc, jade ornaments, 9 jade plugs, 40 gold ingots, bronze bow, etc.	Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 1981
79b								Silver mounts, gold foil decoration		Inner coffin: placed at left side of head of jade suit. Other items, see above entry.	Ibid.
79c								Silver mounts, gold foil decoration		Inner coffin: left of leg of jade suit. Other items, see above entry.	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
80	Shaanxi Xianyang Maquan 陕西咸陽馬泉 (1975)	L WH		Rectangular brick-faced tomb with arches and an entrance ramp, 2 sets of doors. Tomb chamber: 8.75 long x 2.4 wide x 3.18 tall.	Amber seal has 惠君, Hui Monarch or Sovereign, but no explanation in report	Fabric round 1, "large"	3	Red painted lacquer cloud patterns, and gold foil wind patterns, beasts, chariots, horses, hunting scenes, etc. On one of the small boxes were 3 silver mounts, cloud patterns, and traces of gold foil. Square box has a 4-leafed motif in gold, surrounded by gold foil birds and beasts. 4 silver mounts on the body.	Inside small oval box were 4 wooden <i>shu</i> combs. another oval (with silver mounts) had 4 powder bags of ascending size (0.6 to 1.6cm diam). Tall square box had 7-8 iron needles in a small needle box.	South side of coffin: Lacquer guan, jade cup	Xianyang Shi Bowuguan 1979
81	Sichuan Xingling Guchengping 四川榮經古城坪(1977) M2	E WH		Rectangular wooden-chambered tomb: guan-guo with space at the foot		Wooden rolled round 1				Near coffin: Earscup, earscup box, bottom of a lacquer box, etc.	Xingling Gumu Fajue Xisozu 1981
82a	Sichuan Chengdu Fenghuangshan 四川成都鳳凰山 (1983)	WH	X	Rectangular vertical shaft (5.44 long x 3.36 wide), 2 levels. Top, or guo, taller, with 2 lacquered coffins. Bottom has 4 compartments, most goods in two central.	M: 56+; F: 40+	Bottom wood round 1; 32.5 diam		Black lacquer with red designs, incised flying hornless dragons, black dots, lozenge and geometric designs. Inside cover: black lacquer, in center: red with black cloud patterns, surrounded by lozenges and geometric patterns.		Next to female inner coffin: pottery basin, bronze mirror, oval painted box, lacquer <i>jia</i> 架 frame, lacquer <i>zhi</i> 盃 cup	Xu 1991

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case # body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
82b						Bottom wood round 1; 28.5 diam		Outside; Black lacquer with red designs. Inside bottom red lacquer with black cloud patterns that change into birds heads; along the edge, incised feather & lozenge patterns.		Next to female inner coffin: see previous entry	Ibid.
82c						Wood round 1; 14 diam.		Only cover and bottom remaining. Black lacquer with red cloud patterns; a red sparrow at center.		Next to female inner coffin: see previous entry	Ibid.
83	Chongqing Linjiang Zhilu 重慶臨江支路 (1982) M3	M WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (9.1 long x 4.5 wide) with ramp. A space to the north has burial goods, and a larger space to the south is lined with wooden planks, and labeled the guo. Coffin deteriorated	Possibly a first grade official of Ba prefecture, or a family member	Fabric round 27; 12.1 diam	?	Black lacquer body with silver mounts. White dot and dash patterns. Cover deteriorated	Mirror, probably on top level. Near mirror was found a half oval box, probably also originally among contents	Guo compartment: silver persimmon piece, lacquer earcup, cap, nails, etc.	Chongqing Shi Bowuguan
84	Guangdong Guangzhou Huanghuagang 廣東廣州黃花崗 (1956) M003	WH		Rectangular vertical shaft (4.45 long x 2.76 wide), guan-guo. Two-levelled plan: coffin on upper level with grave goods placed around coffin below. Guo walls originally lacquered black; no décor detected.		Wood round rolled 1	2	Black with red cloud, cicada, & decorative patterns. 2 boxes may have been associated; only bronze mounts remain	One of the smaller boxes had combs inside	Northern side	Guangzhou Shi Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 1958

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case # body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
85a	Guangdong Guangzhou Sanyuanli Mapenggang 廣東廣州三元 里馬棚岡 (1960) M1		X	Rectangular vertical shaft (5.54 long x 3.1- 3.25 wide), guan-guo surrounding coffin. Coffin originally in a compartment, with doors on all 4 sides.		Wooden round 1		Painted lacquer with cloud patterns		Other lacquer vessels, tomb figurines	Guangzhou Shi Wanjun Guanli Weiyuanhui 1962
85b						Wooden round 1		Painted lacquer with cloud patterns		Other lacquer vessels, tomb figurines	Ibid.
85c						Wooden round 1		Painted lacquer with cloud patterns		Other lacquer vessels, tomb figurines	Ibid.
86a	Guangxi Guixian Luobowan 廣西貴縣羅泊 灣 (1976) M1	E WH	X	Tomb compartment (1 single coffin, and 1 double), ramp, and accompanying pit; below, accompanying burials (7) and object pits.	M: military rank, high official (main occupant), with a companion and 7 other smaller coffins for servants, entertainers	Wooden round 1; 7 tall x 13.5 diam		Painted black outside; inside red. Red thunder and wind patterns. Has a variant of the Qin style B décor.		Female accompanying coffin no. 1	Guangxi Zhuangzu Zizhiqun Bowuguan 1988
86b						Wooden horsehoof 1		Painted black lacquer	Shu and bi comb set and a small bag of black powder	Female accompanying coffin no. 2	Ibid.

APPENDIX D:
XIN MANG INTERREGNUM (9-25) AND EASTERN HAN PERIOD (25-220)
TOMBS WITH TOILETRY CASES

Table 7. Xin Mang Interregnum (9-25 CE) and Eastern Han Period (25-220) Tombs with Toiletory Cases

No.	Province, Tomb (Year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
1	Jiangsu Dongfeng Zhuanwa 江蘇東風磚瓦 (1974) M1	XM/E EH		Rectangular vertical shaft (3.38 long x 2.08-2.2 wide) with guan-guo with foot compartment; rotating doors in between.	MF						Yangzhou Bowuguan 1980
2	Jiangsu Dongfeng Zhuanwa 江蘇東風磚瓦 (1974) M2	XM/E EH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo with foot compartment.	MF	Wood rectangular 2; 16 tall x 35 long x 21.2 wide		Reddish brown; inside red, cloud/bird patterns	Bronze mirror, two combs		Ibid.
3	Jiangsu Dongfeng Zhuanwa 江蘇東風磚瓦 (1974) M4	XM/E EH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo, head and side compartments.		round				Inner coffin: wooden shu comb, 2 wooden sticks	Ibid.
4	Jiangsu Dongfeng Zhuanwa 江蘇東風磚瓦 (1974) M5	XM/E EH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo, head and side compartments.		round			From layout: wooden shu comb (<i>bi</i> just nearby, along with two lacquer boxes)		Ibid.
5	Jiangsu Dongfeng Zhuanwa 江蘇東風磚瓦 (1974) M6	XM/E EH		Rectangular vertical shaft with guan-guo with foot compartment.	MF						Ibid.
6	Jiangsu Qiliidian 江蘇七里甸 (1962)	E EH	X	Rectangular vertical shaft (3.64 long x 2.5 wide) guo & 2 coffins, head space & foot chamber. Foot chamber is separated from coffins by doors.	MF	Wood round; 10.5 diam		Only cover survives: outside black; inside red. Very thin red painted cloud patterns in the form of curved lines.		Head space: just near the coffin of the male occupant (though items may have been dispersed when looted), near pottery hu, bronze coins	Nanjing Bowuyuan and Yangzhou Bowuguan 1962

No.	Province, Tomb (Year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form	# of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
7	Jiangsu Hanjiang Ganquan Laohudun 江苏江甘泉老虎墩 (1984)	M EH	X	Large brick chambered tomb with rounded arch, a pair of side, as well as front and back chambers (NS extreme 14.04m x EW/ 8.65, tallest 7.8 m)	M: Marquis of Guangling (post King Liu Jing), or an important official.			?	Only fragments remain: lacquers had gold foil, silver mounts, polychrome paint, and inlay.	A bundle of 12 gold-inlaid book knives?		Yangzhou Bowuguan 1991
8	Jiangsu Xuzhou Shiqiao 江苏徐州石橋 (1982) M2	101 CE	X	Rock cut tomb, knife shaped (24.2 long) with a tomb chamber and ramp (19.9m long)	F: though her tomb is next to a large rock cut tomb, probably Chu king; hers is not large and does not have a jade shroud; probably simply a concubine.			7-9	Metal fragments include silver mounts for smaller boxes, as well as gold and silver pendants			Xuzhou Bowuguan 1984
9	Jiangsu Yancheng Sanyangdun 江苏盐城三羊墩 (1965) M1	E EH	X	Rectangular vertical shaft guan-guo (6.7 long x 6.3 wide), head (2.95 long x 1 wide) & side (3.78 long x 1.57 wide) compartments (not attached). 3 separate coffins.	High official & family dependents (2)	Wood round; 22.5 diam			Only cover remains: outside painted black, inside red. Cover has red decorative patterns, and a bronze pendants.	Side compartment: Lacquer and wooden vessels, parts.		Jiangsu Sheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui and Nanjing Bowuguan 1964
10	Henan Luoyang Laocheng 河南洛陽老城 (1958) M81	XM: 33 BCE-6 CE		Rectangular vertical brick chambered tomb with passage, 2 side chambers & additional chambers off the sides.	MF?						Eastern inner coffin: bronze mirror, bronze coins, small iron knife	He 1964

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	T'olietry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	T'olietry Case Decor	T'olietry Case Contents	Location of tolletry case & associated items	Reference
11a	Henan Luoyang Shaogou 河南洛陽燒溝 (1953) M1035	L EH	X	Horizontal brick chamber tomb with a sloping ramp (16.98 m long); a long horizontal front chamber with two back chambers and a fake side chamber; six coffins (3 in north back chamber; 1 in south; and 2 in front chamber)		Round 2; 8 tall by 22 diam	3	3 silver mounts	Bronze mirror on top level	Northern chamber near coffin	Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1959
11b						Round; 20.4 diam		Only cover survives: at center, a persimmon motif inlaid with 5 glass pearls, surrounded by 2 bronze mounts		Front chamber near coffin	Ibid.
12	Gansu Wuwei Mozuizi 甘肅武威磨咀 子 (1957-59) M17	EH	X	Rectangular, arched earthen cave (3.84 long x 1.94 wide) with side chamber and ramp. Female coffin in tomb chamber, male in side-chamber		Wooden round 1; 6 tall x 21 diam	?		Bronze mirror, small lacquer boxes	Female inner coffin	Gansu Sheng Bowuguan 1960

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletty case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletty Case Decor	Toiletty Case Contents	Location of toiletty case & associated items	Reference
13	Yunnan Jinning Shizhaishan 雲南晉寧石寨山 (1959) M23	EH?				Round; 6.2 tall x 24.8 diam	6	Reconstructed: 5 silver mounts, 2 of which are on the cover. At center of cover, a silver persimmon, encircled by 2 inlaid silver mounts. All of the silver mounts & flowers are as thin as paper. Outside black lacquer, inside red. Smaller boxes similarly decorated.	Western Han mirror, underneath which were 6 small boxes: in rectangular, a set of 3 bronze needles (each had a cap, and one was a hairpin, & 2 were eyeliner pens); horsehoof had wooden shu comb; other boxes had grey substances that may have been cosmetics.		Li 1964
14	Yunnan Dagan 雲南大關 (1964) M2	EH		Cliff tomb lined with basalt, shape of ceiling like 人 character. Rectangular (3.4 long x 1.8 wide) couple's tomb.		Round; 27 diam?		Silver mounts		Northern inner coffin: clam shell, other items deteriorated	Yunnan Sheng Wenwu Gongzuo Dui 1965
15a	Yunnan Dagan 雲南大關 (1964) M3	EH		Cliff tomb lined with basalt, shape of ceiling rounded (tomb entrance like 人 character). Rectangular (4.2 long x 3 wide) couple's tomb.		Round; 27 diam?		Silver mounts		Southern inner coffin: bronze coins, iron knives, shell, glass fragments, bronze frame for earcup, pottery bowls	Ibid.
15b						Round; 27 diam?		Silver mounts		East of inner coffin: pottery and bronze vessels	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
16	Liaoning Shenyang Boguantun 遼寧瀋陽(白骨屯) (1963) M2	MEH	X	Rectangular brick chambered tomb (3.3 long x 1.4 wide)		round				Next to inner coffin: small guan vessel, 2 bowls, cup (inside, spoon)	Shenyang Shi Wenwu Gongzuo Zu 1964
17a	North Korea Lelang 樂浪 (1925)			Rectangular vertical shaft with 2 guo compartments and 4 coffins. The larger of the guo (2.7 long x 1.8 wide) contained three coffins and a space for burial goods spanning the foot of the compartment; the smaller, side guo contained one coffin. It is believed that these elements accumulated over time. There is a small opening between the foot space and the side guo.	Wang Xu 王許 and three females	Wood round 1, 6 tall x 22.7 diam	4	Two wooden combs, bronze mirror	Incised designs filled with white and red lacquer: persimmon motif on cover surrounded by incised birds and animals among clouds. Other registers include fowls, beasts, and geometric patterns.	Main compartment, western section:	Harada and Tazawa 1930

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletry case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletry Case Decor	Toiletry Case Contents	Location of toiletry case & associated items	Reference
17b						Wood round 2 (shallow tray); 11.8 tall x 28 diam.	6	Bronze mirror, a pair of glass ear ornaments, small bronze bell, quantity of white powder, quantity of native carbonate of lead (in smaller boxes), clayey lumps (perhaps a kind of pomade), and a bronze brush smeared with white powder.	Cover has a four-leafed persimmon motif of yellow lacquer outlined in red line, surrounded by registers with cloud patterns with animals in red, blue and yellow. This case included a shallow tray of plain lacquer that rested along the edge of the vessel.	Main compartment	Ibid.
17c						Wood rectangular 1	8	Bronze mirror, wooden comb, small wooden implement of unknown function, small strip of wood blackened at one end, and a lump of yellowish waxy substance, possibly a pomade	Not clear; box was pressed flat; small boxes within are believed to have been black lacquer outside; red inside.	Side compartment	Ibid.

No.	Province, Tomb (year excavated)	Date	Looted?	Tomb Structure	Occupant/ Age/Status	Toiletory case body/form # of levels/ measure	# sm boxes	Toiletory Case Decor	Toiletory Case Contents	Location of toiletory case & associated items	Reference
17d						Wood round 1; 7.3 tall x 21.5 diam			Damaged, but reconstructions shows that the outside was black with polychrome designs; inside red. Three bronze bosses found on the cover. Designs include birds and animals in cloud patterns.	Side compartment	Ibid.

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